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THE CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI



THE CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI

(Seminar Papers)

73103



Editor

Dr. M. S. NAGARAJA RAO

934.01982

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Bangalore
The Mythic Society
1978

First published

1978

73103

प्रवाप्ति संख्या दिनांक 17.12.86

निर्देश संख्या 934.0198.2/Nag

पत्रपत्र नई दिल्ली

केन्द्रीय पुरातत्व पुस्तकालय

©

The Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Rs. 50-00

13/12/86

£ 3

\$ 5

Printed in India

by The Superintendent at the Bangalore Printing & Publishing Company, Limited, P.B. No. 1807, Mysore Road, Bangalore-560 018, and published by Sri Jaithirt Rajpurohit, Secretary, The Mythic Society, Daly Memorial Hall, Nrupatunga Road, Bangalore-560 002.

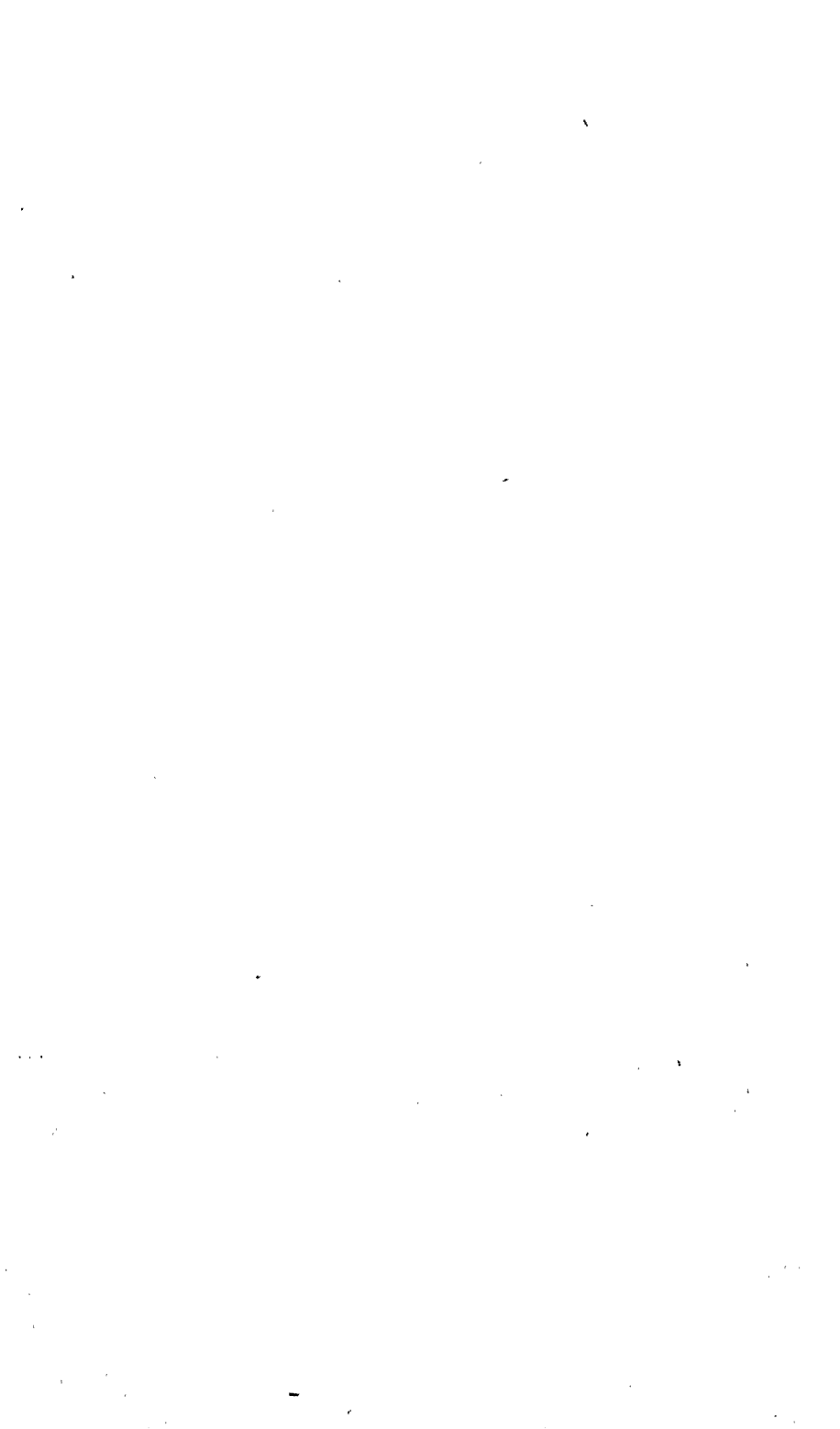
FOREWORD

The Mythic Society, Bangalore, was established as early as 1909, with the main objective of promoting the study and to stimulate research in Anthropology, Archaeology, Architecture, Art, Ethnology, Folklore, History, Mythology, Philosophy, Religion and other allied subjects in the State of Karnataka. True to the wishes of its founding fathers, the Society has been serving the cause of Academic World, and has been organising seminars, lectures, and publishing the world famous Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. The Seminar on 'The Chalukyas of Badami' has been one of such important programmes. The Society is now making available the various research papers presented at the seminar to the scholarly world. The work of editing and seeing the book through the press was entrusted to Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao, who has willingly accepted the responsibility. The Society is pleased to record its appreciation to Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao. The Society has since conducted two more Seminars on the Rashtrakutas and the Chalukyas of Kalyani, so that Scholars and Students are benefited in having the results of the latest researches in the field. We hope to place before the scholarly world, the other two volumes also before long. Meanwhile the Society will be gratified if the present volume adds new knowledge on the subject of the Chalukyas of Badami.

24-3-1978

The Mythic Society,
Bangalore

K. BALASUBRAHMANYAM
Chairman
Board of Management



EDITOR'S NOTE

On the 17th and 18th August 1974, the Mythic Society hosted a seminar on 'The Chalukyas of Badami', in which a galaxy of scholars participated and presented twenty-nine papers on various facets of the Early Chalukyan history. Publication of these papers in a single volume, including the inaugural speech by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam and the presidential address by Shri S. R. Rao, which throw a flood of light on the problems of the Early Chalukyan history, was considered absolutely necessary not only because these papers embody results of latest researches, but also because, such a work on this illustrious Karnataka family was long overdue. We hope that scholars and students will benefit by this publication.

It is my pleasant duty to record my deep debt of gratitude, for having given me this opportunity to serve this academic cause. Dr. Suryanath U. Kamath was the moving force in organising this seminar very successfully. But for his untiring effort, so many scholars would not have assembled at one place. I would therefore like to record our appreciation for his efforts. The Board of Management of the Mythic Society very graciously entrusted me the work of editing and seeing the book through the press. I am very grateful to the Board for this signal honour. I have been ably assisted in this task of publication by my colleagues in the Directorate, Shriyuts C. S. Patil, H. N. Anantharamu, Suryanarayana and Kum. H. N. Vishalakshi. To all of them my grateful thanks are due. Shri Narayana, and his staff of the Bangalore Press have taken care to print the work diligently. I thank them for this.

Finally Shri K. Balasubrahmanyam, I.A.S., (Retd.) Chairman of the Board of Management of the Society, has

given constant guidance and encouragement to me in this work as well as all others connected with the programmes of the Mythic Society. It is with great respect that I record my sincere thanks to him.

22-3-1978

Mysore

M. S. NAGARAJA RAO

Received from Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi, India. No. 69168. Lit. 17.11.86. Price - Rs. 50/-

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ABBREVIATIONS

AI	.. <i>Ancient India</i> (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India).
ABORI	.. <i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune</i>
APAS	.. <i>Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Series, Hyderabad.</i>
ARIE	.. <i>Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy</i>
ARSIE	.. <i>Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.</i>
BISM	.. <i>Bulletin of the Bharatiya Itihasa Samshodan Mandal, Pune.</i>
CII	.. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.</i>
DKD	.. <i>Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts</i> (J. F. Fleet).
EC	.. <i>Epigraphica Carnatica.</i>
EHD	.. <i>Early History of the Deccan</i> [Yazdani, G. (Ed.)].
Ep. Ind.	.. <i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>
IHQ	.. <i>Indian Historical Quarterly.</i>
Ind. Ant.	.. <i>Indian Antiquary.</i>
JAHC	.. <i>Journal of Ancient History and Culture</i>
JAHS	.. <i>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.</i>
JBR	.. <i>Journal of the Bihar Research Society</i>
JBBRS	.. <i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JIH	.. <i>Journal of Indian History.</i>
JKU	.. <i>Journal of Karnatak University.</i>
JNSI	.. <i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</i>
JOR	.. <i>Journal of Oriental Research Society.</i>
JRAS	.. <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>

JTA	.. <i>Journal of Tamil Academy.</i>
MAR	.. <i>Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department.</i>
MASI	.. <i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
MER	.. <i>Madras Epigraphical Report.</i>
PIHC	.. <i>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.</i>
QJMS	.. <i>Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.</i>
SII	.. <i>South Indian Inscriptions.</i>



*PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE STUDY OF THE
CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM

I am deeply sensible of the high honour the organisers of this Seminar on the *Chalukyas of Vātāpi* have done me by giving me an opportunity to participate in it. As we are all aware the Mythic Society under whose auspices Seminar has been arranged is one of the oldest research institutions in this part of our country and has made pioneering and significant contributions to Indological and historical research. One has to go through the old numbers of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* to know about the quality of the papers published in and the variety of topics covered by them. As a research institution devoted to Indological studies, it has earned a well merited name. It is therefore in the fitness of things that this Society should organise a Seminar on a dynasty which has played a great part in the early history of India. The place of the Chalukyas in the history of India lies not only in their building up of a great empire in the Deccan, but also in their solid work in the organisation and development of administrative institutions and practices, promotion of economic activity, encouragement of religious institutions, etc. In the evolution and proliferation of architectural styles in the introduction and popularisation of iconographic types and in the evolution and early development of the Kannada language and script, the age of the Badāmi Chalukyas witnessed remarkably significant progress.

I am fully conscious of the fact that my contributions to the study of the history of the Chalukyas of Badāmi is quite marginal. I have confined myself only to the problems

* Inaugural Address delivered on the occasion of the Seminar on the Chalukyas of Badāmi.

relating to the Pallava-Chalukya conflicts. The Mythic Society has ensured my presence here today by assigning to me a role in the Seminar and consequently enabled me to be present here to follow with interest the discussions that are to take place on the history and achievements of an impressive line of valiant rulers. I am thankful to the organisers for the same.

I find here a number of scholars some of whom have, by their writings, made a mark in the field and who, I have no doubt, have come to present here the results of their own researches on one or other of the varied aspects of the history of the dynasty. I do not, therefore, propose to give any lengthy address here, but intend to confine myself to a few general observations and refer to a few problems that are relevant to the Seminar here.

The present century is important in the history of Indian historiography. Schemes for writing comprehensive histories of India have been formulated in the post-independence period and they are in different stages of progress. At the same time the need for greater attention being given to regional history has been increasingly recognised and we find a number of works relating to different region, in India and the dynasties that ruled over them are being planned and written. That is really good, for, without a good knowledge of the history of different regions through the ages, it may not be possible to form any idea of their contribution to the history and culture of the whole country. And for bringing out the role or part played by a particular region of the dynasty that ruled over it, seminars of this kind are of great value. They will focus the attention of scholars to the salient features of the history of the region and help in understanding its place in the general history of the country. Its merit lies in the fact that a body of scholars who are experts in their respective fields participate in the Seminar and make its deliberations rich and useful. Geographically the Deccan, occupying as it does, a middle

position in the country, has been fortunate in that it was able to develop a culture which was largely the result of the commingling of those of the north and the south. The Chalukyas who were a mighty power and exercised sway over a large part of the Deccan for nearly two and a half centuries were a visible embodiment of the result of such influences.

There are many legends about their origin. The earliest contained in a Badāmi inscription of A.D. 578 says that they were *Haritiputras*, of the *Mānavya gôtra* and were meditating at the feet of the sacred *Svāmi (Kārttikēya)*. They are said to have been nourished by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds. But later legends about them which find a place in epigraphy and literature say that they belonged to the north and 59 kings of the Chalukya line had ruled from Ayôdhya. Later some 16 kings ruled from Dakṣiṇāpatha, and after a period of obscurity they emerged as a powerful dynasty in the south. There are variations in the account. With regard to the significance of their name which occurs in various forms in inscriptions like *Chālki*, *Chuluki*, *Chalikya*, *Chalukya* and *Chālukya* there is no unanimity of opinion among scholars. But, in spite of the conflicting legends and opinions about their origin, it appears pretty clear that they were an indigenous family of chieftains under the Kadambas and rose to importance with the decline of the power of their overlords. Their name was probably a tribal name and had some connection with some totem.

In the study of the history of the Chalukyas, as of any other dynasty in South India, be it in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh or Tamil Nadu, the first question that naturally strikes one relates to the sources. I shall confine myself to the Chalukyas of Badāmi. Apart from the notes of Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Pilgrim, on the country of Mahārāṣṭra, its king and society as he saw them and a brief notice of the Arab writer, Tabāri, there is no important lite-

rary source of any substantial value for the reconstruction of the history of the Chalukyas and their times. Numismatics, highly useful for the study of some aspects of the history of the Chalukyas of Vēṅgi, is practically of no help to us. Considering the fact that coins of some of the contemporaries of the Chalukyas of Badāmi have come to light, one naturally looks for the numismatic finds of the early Chalukyas of Badāmi also. Though early Chalukya inscriptions mention a number of taxes that were payable, to my knowledge only one coin has been assigned to Pulakēśin I and that not on sure grounds¹. If the non-discovery of the coins of this period is a pointer to their sparse use as a medium of currency the economic factors for the same is a question that deserves careful investigation. A good number of Chalukya monuments survive; but their usefulness to us is largely restricted to studies on art and architecture. Therefore, inscriptions constitute the most important source for us. In fact the entire political history of the early Chalukyas, and what little we know of the social and economic conditions under them are largely reconstructed with the evidence supplied by epigraphy. A good number of the inscriptions, particularly those that were discovered during the last half-a-century and more are just noticed and not published; and, as a result, we know only about their location and major content.

All of us know, this material is hardly sufficient for detailed research work, particularly on the social and economic side which requires a complete study of the entire text of the inscriptions. What applies to the early Chalukyas applies to other dynasties also. In this connection I may mention two projects that have been undertaken to make easily available the published inscriptions. The Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, has undertaken a scheme of bringing out a series of volumes containing the texts of the inscriptions of the various dynasties of kings that ruled over different parts of the country, so that the

inscriptions may be easily available to scholars interested in them. But the scope of these volumes is restricted to the published inscriptions only, and the unpublished ones, some of which may contain much valuable information for the research worker, would still be out of reach for us. The scheme of the revision and reprinting of the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* undertaken by the University of Mysore is good in itself. But there, the unpublished inscriptions in Karnataka are not included. What is, therefore, required is a comprehensive scheme for the publication of the countless inscriptions that have been collected and noticed. Admittedly this is a stupendous task and requires dedicated work by competent scholars. There are of course the financial implications inherent in such a scheme.

It is indeed a paradox that while there are comprehensive works on the political history of the Chalukyas of Vēṅgi, of Vēmulavāḍa and of Gujarat, there is as yet no comprehensive published account on the main line of the Chalukyas of Badāmi and their times. The writings of pioneers in the study of the history of Karnataka, though important and valuable in their own way, have now become outdated, on account of the new material that has become available about them. Therefore, there is need and every justification for a fresh study and analysis of all the available material. Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's chapter on the Chalukyas of Badāmi in the *Early History of the Deccan* and the late Dr. P. B. Desai's chapter on the same subject in the *History of Karnataka*, published by the Karnatak University, Dharwar, are undoubtedly more detailed and useful than the earlier accounts, but they cannot be substitutes for a comprehensive account which the dynasty so richly deserves. It is our hope that such an attempt will result from the Seminar.

There is abundant scope for an exhaustive study of machinery of political organization under the early Chalukyas in all its aspects. It is not known, why, though some

work has been done on the polity under the dynasties that followed the early Chalukyas in Karnataka, that under the Chalukyas of Badāmi has not received much attention. In fact the system of administration in medieval Karnataka was a development of the one under the Chalukyas of Badāmi. It is for examination how far it was modelled on the one that obtained in North India and to what extent it was modified to suit local traditional institutions and conditions. One notices a number of administrative terms in the Chalukya inscriptions which are also found in North Indian inscriptions besides a number of new ones which are not found in them. There may be some specific questions relating to the Chalukya Polity to be answered. For instance one of them is whether there was a Council of Ministers in the early Chalukya period. In many of the records we hear of the *mahāsandhivigrahika*, who was obviously a minister of War and Peace. The Nagardhan plates refer to the *purôhita*. There is no direct mention of any other minister, though it is possible that a ministry did exist. Kautilya and Manu, not to speak of others, speak about the need for a ministry and we know from an inscription that Kirtivarman I was well versed in the laws of *Manu*². Later works bearing on administration produced in the Deccan make mention of ministerial councils.

While studying the history of an imperial dynasty one is likely to gloss over minor dynasties that were contemporaneous with it, and with which it came into close contact. In fact the greatness and success of an imperial power rest largely on the nature of the good relations with them or the nature of the overlordship exercised by the imperial power over them. One may say the medieval period in the history of South India as that of North India was one of feudalism, though its nature was not the same as the European feudalism of the same period. Since the feudal chiefs were able to make and unmake empires one cannot afford to neglect their history during the period of the Chalukyas of Badāmi.

We have accounts of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* and minor dynasties of rulers during later periods in the Deccan; but not during the period of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. Is it due to the paucity of material for studying their role in the politics of Karnataka during the period? Likewise the question of the place of the provincial and local administrative institutions in the administrative set up of the empire deserves careful examination. The local self-governing institutions were strong both in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu during the period. But there was a lot of difference between them with regard to their origin, constitution and working. A comparative study of the organic nature or otherwise of these institutions, their usefulness and the nature of the control which the centre had over them may be useful.

We are generally treated to more detailed accounts of the religious conditions in Karnataka from the ninth century onwards. We have books relating to the different Hindu religious sects as also Buddhism and Jainism. We know of the role of the Kālāmukhas and Kāpālikas for instance in the religious life of Karnataka from that period onwards, their monastic establishments, their organization of temples, etc. In this connection the studies made on them by Fleet, Rice, A. V. Subbiah, Handiqui, David Lorenzen, etc., deserve mention. But what were the religious conditions under the Chalukyas of Badāmi? We are told that the early Chalukyas were Hārītiputras worshippers of Kārttikēya and acquired power and sovereignty over other rulers by the grace of Nārāyaṇa on account of which probably they used the boar-crest. Pulakēśin I claims to have performed several sacrifices including the *Aśvamēdha*, while Kīrttivarman is said to have performed the *Agnishthōma* and *Bahusuvarṇa* sacrifices. Thus the kings were followers of puranic Hinduism, and do not appear to have made any distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu. But we do not know much about the religious conditions in the Chalukyas kingdom except in a rough and

vague way. How and when did the Kālāmukhas, who were so powerful and influential in Karnataka at least till the rise and spread of Viśiṣṭaism, become so important in the religious life of Karnataka? What were the principal religious developments during the period of the Chalukyas of Badāmi? Such questions as these deserve examination. For this a careful and comparative study of the inscriptions and monuments of the period is necessary.

Not much is known about the Kannada language and literature during the period of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. The earliest literary piece in Kannada so far known or found is the Halmiḍi inscription which is usually assigned of the middle of the fifth century A.D. But the earliest known work in Kannada is the *Kavirājamārga*, a treatise on rhetoric the authorship of which is generally ascribed to the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Nṛpatuṅga (A.D. 814-80). The question naturally arises as to the condition of the language during the period of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. Since the *Kavirājamārga* was a work on rhetoric, it presupposes the existence of a body of writing in Kannada produced earlier. The mention of a number of writers in the work, among whom were Śrīvijaya, Kaviśvara, Lōkapāla, Jayabandhu, Vinīta, etc., also points to the growth of Kannada literature during the period. But our knowledge of them is practically nil. The evolution of the Kannada script during the period also requires proper study.

Another area in which there is abundant scope for sustained work is the field of Chalukyan art, architecture and iconography. It is in this region that we find the fruitful commingling of northern and southern usages in architecture. It is in this region that we find early attempts at showing a variety of architectural types. For a detailed study of the architectural developments in the area, it is necessary to conduct a thorough exploration and examination of all the early Chalukya monuments in their architectural and historical contexts. That will be useful for the preparation

of adequate descriptions of the monuments with reference to their stylistic features, borrowed elements in them, if any, and their correspondence to architectural treatises. It is also necessary to examine the nature and extent to which Chalukya art was influenced by schools of art outside the Chalukya empire and the influence it exercised over them. In Chalukya temples the *bhūmis* represented by a series of *kaṇṭhas* and *Kapôtas* crowned by an *āmalaka* or occasionally by a *kaṇāmāḷaka* on the last *bhūmi* are presumably derived from the Kadamba style. Among their own important introductions in structural architecture, the most noteworthy is the *sukhanāsa* on the *ardhamandapa* roof. This *sukhanāsa*, also known as *mahānāsika*, is an essential feature of the *antarāḷa* roof in North Indian temples, and it is through the Chalukya territory that it found its way to as far south as the Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbhakonam in Tamil Nadu. There are many other details of the kind.

The more important and typically representative of the early Chalukya sculptures have been noticed by different scholars; but, generally speaking, iconography has received greater attention than the formal qualities of art. Iconographic traits, particularly in the Western Chalukya context, are of paramount interest and importance; but the vigour and stamina of the sculptures are of no less significance. The Chalukya sculptural compositions are huge and well-knit and on set themes. These artistic themes, compositions and styles were to transmigrate to the Rāshtrakūṭa terrain and the Pallava soil. Note, for instance, the huge pair of bas relief in cave 2 of Badāmi, Varāha on the left and Trivikrama on the right, and those in the Varāha cave at Mahābalipuram. Was it that Narasimhavaram I, after his sack of Badāmi in A.D. 642, saw the Badāmi panels and got them reproduced in his own kingdom? Rāshtrakūṭa and Pallava art cannot be studied and appreciated without reference to the Chalukya art; because, though the material, stylistic nuance, mode of treatment, etc., may be a recogni-

sably local characteristic, the composition in many cases was derived from Chalukya antecedent. It appears that while the Chalukya composition provided inspiration to the Pallava craftsman, certainly typically Chalukya iconographic concepts entered first the Pāṇḍya kingdom and not the almost contiguous Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam of the Pallavas. The cults of Gaṇēśa and the Saptamātrikas seem to have reached the southern parts of the Tamil country from the Chalukya area, through the Ganga tract even before they got introduced in Pallava structural temples. Was it because of the fact that the Pāṇḍyas of this period, though not politically powerful, followed the Chalukya mode? But I must hasten to say here that I am not indulging in any speculation but only want to indicate the problems that face us in a study of the subject and the enormous amount of study that they require to understand them aright.

Here a word may be said about what we usually speak of 'gaps' or 'dark periods' in Indian History. This applies to regional history also. Though there seems to be some truth in such trite expressions from the point of view of the political history of the country, the everyday life of man was going on even in such periods; and for a study of it, we have to search for and get material from excavations, both vertical and horizontal, and use the evidence properly. There is much need for the coordination of the activities of the historian and the archaeologist for a full and fruitful use of all the available data to form a more clear picture of the ancient history of South India under the rule of different dynasties.

Friends, I have tried to indicate only a few of the problems that face a student of the history of the Chalukyas of Badāmi, and the need for more sustained work of high quality on them. It is my earnest hope and wish that this Seminar will go a long way in unravelling some of the problems and clearing some important points and in contributing

to our knowledge of the history, achievements and times of one of the most distinguished dynasties of early medieval India. With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Seminar on the Chalukyas of Badāmi. I once again thank the Mythic Society for having given me the privilege of inaugurating the same.

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*CULTURAL REMAINS OF THE CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI AND THEIR PRESERVATION

S. R. RAO

I deem it an honour to be called upon to preside over the deliberations of renowned scholars participating in the Seminar on the Chalukyas of Badāmi organized by the Mythic Society, one of the oldest and well-known research institutions in the country. I am beholden to the office-bearers of the Society for having given me an opportunity to learn more about the achievements of the Chalukyas who have a place of pride in the history of India. They have bequeathed to us great monuments and works of art. It has been my unique privilege to undertake repairs to more than one hundred temples of Aihole, Paṭṭadakal and Badāmi built by the Early Chalukyas as also by their successors at Ellora in Maharashtra, the latter being rock-cut temples.

But very few may know the horrible condition of the Early Chalukya temples six years ago. They were encroached upon by ugly-looking modern hutments and some of them were even converted into cattlesheds and private kitchens. Many of the beautifully carved edifices were not even approachable. Mounds of rubbish caused nausea to the visitors. The Archaeological Survey of India has, since 1968, taken very vigorous steps to remove modern accretions and throw open to view the famous temples of Virūpāksha, Sangamêśvara, Mallikārjuna, Kāśi Viśvanātha, Galaganātha, Jambulinga and Kāḍasiddhêśvara at Paṭṭadakal, Durga, Sūryanārāyana, Lāḍkhān, Kunti and Ambiger temples at Aihole, and the Bhūtanātha and Yellamma temples at Badāmi. Extensive structural repairs

* Presidential Address delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of the Seminar on the Chalukyas of Badāmi.

to these and thirty other temples have been carried out at a cost of Rs. 30,00,000 besides the expenditure involved on laying out gardens and building sculpture galleries. Careful excavation had to be undertaken to expose the buried plinths of more important temples, as a result of which several masterpieces of sculptures have been recovered. Particular mention may be made of the figures of Śiva Tripurāntaka and Mārkaṇḍēya Anugrahamūrti from Paṭṭadakal, massive sculptures of Saptamātrikas and of Kubēra from Aihole. The close affinity between the sculptural art of Badāmi Cave and of Ellora Cave 21 is fairly known, but the recent excavation at Paṭṭadakal has highlighted the fact that the friezes of fighting lions and elephants on the Mallikārjuna temple must have served as a model to the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings in getting similar freizes carved on the Kailāsa temple at Ellora.

From the point of view of evolution of temple, styles, there are no better places in India than Aihole, Paṭṭadakal and Badāmi. Beginning with the modest models of the pillared hall type, the Chalukya architects initiated several significant temple forms, the more notable among them being the Drāviḍa Vimāna, with storeyed roof, the Nāgara-rêkhā with curvilinear spire and the so-called Kadamba-nāgara with stepped pyramidal roof. In the process of experiment, the various components of the temple, namely the sanctum (*garbhagriha*), the vestibule (*antarāḷa*), the assembly hall (*sabhāmaṇḍapa*) and porch (*mukhamaṇḍapa*) and their space conception were developed in the architectural laboratory of Aihole, Paṭṭadakal, Badāmi and Mahākūṭa. They also evolved by the end of the 7th century sound principles of architectural geometry, some of which have just come to light. What is now essential is to examine whether the proportions arrived at conform to those mentioned in *śilpa* texts.

The excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey at the three great centres of Early Chalukya art have brought

to light very valuable information regarding the pre-Chalukyan temples in this region. For the first time brick temples of the Sātavāhana and later periods have been found below the Chalukya stone temples such as the Ambigerudi at Aihole and the Sangamēśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal, the latter having a large pillared hall. The more important brick edifice of the Chalukyan times is, however, a large assembly hall and its adjuncts laid bare in the course of excavations near the Jaina temple at Paṭṭadakal. Being undoubtedly secular in character, it might have been used for some royal ceremony such as coronation for which, Paṭṭadakal was specially chosen by the Chalukya kings, although Badāmi was their capital.

By and large, the efforts made by the Archaeological Survey of India have saved about thirty-five temples from collapsing and all of them have been repaired and their environs improved, but much more remains to be done in the case of the remaining temples. Further repairs have been held up partly due to lack of approach roads to several temples and partly due to the acquisition proceedings. The State Government has assured us that the necessary approach roads will be built soon. I had to mention the various steps taken to save these monuments because theoretical discussion is useful only when the monuments themselves are well preserved.

Very few visitors to Badāmi may be knowing that there are some paintings on the ceiling of Cave No. 3. Though very heavily damaged in the past due to natural causes, attempts have been made to preserve them and copy the more significant ones. The Court scene in one of the panels is an excellent example of the refined taste of the Badāmi artist.

It is customary to talk of Gupta style, Gupta motifs and Gupta order of pillars while discussing the origin of structural temples as if nothing else existed or contributed

to the development of early temples in India. I may be pardoned for reminding students of art that it is the Chalukyas who were greatly responsible for carrying out experiments in temple building and evolving three styles mentioned earlier. If there are a dozen examples of Gupta temples we have more than hundred of the Chalukyas. Hence, it is necessary now to rewrite the history of temple architecture in India taking into account the new evidence obtained from the clearance operations and excavations at Aihole and Pattadakal. I must congratulate the organizers of the Seminar for having chosen an opportune moment to bring together all the scholars including Epigraphists and Indologists who interpret the written records of the period.

I am sure there will be a lot of discussion in the Seminar on the contributions made by the Chalukyas to the enrichment of the art and literature of India and the development of religious and social institutions. The learned discussions will naturally find place in the Proceedings and other publications. What is equally important is the early publication of popular books on the Chalukyas and their monuments, well-illustrated in more than one language besides Kannada, Hindi and English. This will go a long way in popularising the monuments which is essential from the point of view of development of tourism. The scenic beauty of the spots selected for building Chalukyan temples is a very great attraction to lovers of art and to picnicker as well.

Secondly, it is high time that the Universities take up in right earnest the work of bringing out sumptuous monographs on groups of Early and Late Chalukyan monuments in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, especially Alampur and those influenced by them in Gujarat and Maharashtra. So far as the monuments of North Karnataka are concerned photographic documentation of the temples at Lakkundi has been completed and that of the temples at Pattadakal has made great progress. Thus nearly three thousand photo-

graphs can be made available to serious scholars. It is gratifying to note that the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, has prepared a number of measured drawings of Early Chalukya temples, supplementing those done by the Archaeological Survey in the past and in recent years.

It is my earnest hope that the suggestions made above will be given serious thought by the scholars assembled here and the learned bodies engaged in research on Indian Culture.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI

SHRINIVAS RITTI

South India, more so Karnataka, attracted the attention of the historians pretty late. Histories of India have been written by foreign as well as Indian scholars from the early days of this century and even earlier. But the space occupied in these works by South India in general and Karnataka in particular, is indeed very negligible. It is only in the recent years that we have been able to find fuller accounts of these regions. The reasons for such a state of affairs, were the non-availability of ready material and dearth of scholars competent to handle the original material and interpret it.

In course of time, with the discovery of more and more material, especially epigraphical, the scope for writing a History of Karnataka widened, but no serious attempts were made. The first notable attempt in this direction is the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, by Dr. Fleet, which forms a part of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. An Epigraphist first and last, Dr. Fleet himself collected quite a good number of inscriptions and, on the basis of the study of those inscriptions, he gave an authentic account of the dynasties that ruled in Northern Karnataka from early times to the rise of Vijayanagara. The book is 100 years old. But its value is not diminished. Many statements made in the book and the dates given for various events stand to be changed in the light of later discoveries. But to a serious student of History, it serves as an example as to how original epigraphical material can be utilised for writing history.

This '*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*' can be said to be a history of Karnataka only in a limited sense. Because,

as is well known, it gives an account of the political happenings in Karnataka, chronological and genealogical accounts and a list of feudatory chiefs in different periods. Cultural aspects of Karnataka history remained outside the scope of this work.

Almost at the same time came the *Early History of the Deccan (down to the Muslim Conquest)* by Sir R.G. Bhandarkar. Comparatively, the scope of this work is wider than that of Dr. Fleet, in the sense that the author utilised good number of literary sources on the one hand, and on the other, he has discussed to some extent, the religious and social conditions under the different ruling dynasties. But it is known how antiquated this work has become in view of the new material that has come to light in the subsequent years. It may also be noted that the history of the region South of Tungabhadra forming the part of Karnataka has remained outside the pale of both these works. The reason is obvious. At the time when these works came to be written, the two regions to the North and South of the Tungabhadra, respectively, were under different administrations. Fleet's activities were restricted to North Karnataka, known, then and till the Reorganisation of the States, as Bombay Karnataka. Perhaps he thought that it was the business of Mr. Rice to write the history of the other region forming the princely State of Mysore, where the latter was actively engaged in the collection and publication of epigraphs of that region. Bhandarkar also restricted the scope of his work to what he called Deccan or Maharashtra which included in it the whole of Northern Karnataka. He also described the Chalukyas and Rāshtrakūṭas as the rulers of Maharashtra. Well, this was done long long ago, and it need not be a controversial issue now.

The deficiency of the works of Fleet and Bhandarkar was as though made up by *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* by Mr. Rice who was the contemporary of Fleet.

The pattern of this work is almost the same as that of Dr. Fleet, here also the mainstay being the inscriptions. The scope of this work also was restricted. Though it deals with the dynasties like the Chalukyas, Rāshtrakūṭas, etc., it does take into consideration the material found in the northern part of the Karnataka.

The students of Karnataka History had to wait long, till the publication in *The Early History of the Deccan* edited by Yazadani in 1960 for a fuller account of the dynasties that ruled in this part of the country. Here again, as in the case of the works of Dr. Fleet and Bhandarkar, the dynasties of Southern Karnataka do not find a place because of the narrow definition of the Deccan.

The next laudable attempt in presenting the History of Karnataka, in all its facets, was made by the new Government of Mysore who brought out a bulky volume covering all aspects of Karnataka History. It is a compilation of articles by various scholars numbering as many as 76. As expected, this large number has affected the quality of the work. When the authors are too many one cannot expect cogency and uniformity in the narration. A detailed review of this work is outside the scope of this paper. I would only like to say that it is a loosely knit compendium of facts. It is my personal opinion, and I am sure some of you will agree with me, that though collaboration becomes necessary when the subject of treatment is vast, collaboration of too many does not produce the best results. Mention should be made here of the latest efforts made in this direction by the Department of Ancient Indian History of the Karnatak University, who have brought out a comprehensive history of Karnataka; it is a joint endeavour of three persons Dr. P. B. Desai, Dr. B. R. Gopal and my humble self. An attempt has been made in this work to examine the original sources as far as possible. Of course it has also its limitations. But it has served its purpose of giving a

connected account of the history of Karnataka from the earliest times. The fourth volume in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan series contains a fairly good account of the Chalukyas. *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Shastri is also to be noticed in this connection. Mention should also be made here of *Heritage of Karnataka* by Dr. R. S. Mugali, which attempts to highlight the cultural attainments of Karnataka. There is yet another work on Karnataka History which has been written by Shri I. M. Muttanna and published by Usha Press, Mysore. It is unnecessary to deal with it here, since no student of History need take this work seriously.

Many Kannada scholars have also endeavoured to bring out histories of Karnataka in Kannada language. An early attempt in this direction was made by Shri R. H. Deshpande of Dharwar, who published two volumes under the title *Karnāṭaka Sāmrajya* upto 12th century A.D. Manuscript pertaining to the subsequent periods remains yet unpublished. *Karnāṭakada Gata Vaibhava* by Shri Alur Venkatarao, highlighting the achievements of the Kannada people, was mainly meant to make the people aware of the achievements of their forefathers and to inspire them to properly understand the spirit of our culture and work for the good of the country. We may also mention here a booklet by Shri N. S. Rajapurohit, who suffered for the cause of Karnataka History and Culture. Next came *Karnāṭakada Arasu Manetanagaḷu* by veteran Epigraphists, Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao and Shri R. S. Panchamukhi who ought to have been the first persons to be invited to this Seminar, as outstanding scholars who have contributed much to the study of Karnataka History and the Chalukyas of Badāmi in particular. The work of these scholars was planned on the line of the work of Dr. Fleet adding a section on Social and Religious conditions of the period. Based on the first hand study of the inscriptions, the work was bound to be authentic. Unfortunately the first volume

stops with the account of the Chalukyas of Badāmi and the second volume could not see the light of the day. I am told that the manuscript on the Rāshtrakūṭas was ready but somehow, it got lost somewhere. In 1967 came the *Karnāṭakada Itihāsa* by Shri R. S. Panchamukhi which deals with the history of Karnataka upto the 10th century A.D. It seeks to present the history of Karnataka with a different approach as professed in the preface of the work. But it also utilises the contributions of different authors. *Karnāṭaka Itihāsa Darshana* by M. V. Krishnarao and Shri Keshava Bhat may be mentioned as the next work on Karnataka History in chronological order. A concise *History of Karnāṭaka* by Dr. Suryanath Kamat has been published recently. Mention should be made here of tiny volumes of different dynasties of Karnataka like the Chalukyas, Rāshtrakūṭas and Hoysaḷas by Prof. Nanjundaswamy.

It was necessary for me to mention these works here because all of them deal at some length with the Chalukyas of Badāmi. It becomes clear from this account and of course it is known to every student of History that there is no independent treatise on the history of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. One cannot expect an exhaustive study of this dynasty, in any of the books mentioned above. Fleet was an epigraphist himself and he could utilise all the inscriptions he could himself study in the original. Many of the foot notes in this work indicate how he has utilised many inscriptions located by him, yet remaining unpublished. Shri N. L. Rao and Shri R. S. Panchamukhi also have based their study on the inscriptions. Their account of the Chalukyas of Badāmi is the result of a thorough study of all the available inscriptions. In this connection, their interpretation of the expression *Trairājya Pallava* and *Mahārāshṭraka traya* are worth noting. Shri Rao has also prepared a fresh study of the Chālukyas of Badāmi for the Kannada Encyclopedia to be published by the University of Mysore. His account of the Chalukyas in the *Maharashtra Gazetteer*

is as valuable as that of Fleet in the *Bombay Gazetteer*. A study of the dynasty in greater details has appeared in the *Early History of the Deccan* edited by Yazdani. Coming from the competent pen of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, the narration deals with different aspects like administration, art, architecture, etc. *A History of Karnataka* of the Karnatak University deals with the dynasty in fairly good detail touching upon the cultural attainments also. Yet, it has its own limitations. Discussion of all the aspects exhaustively was beyond the scope of the work. Not much need be said about the other works mentioned above. Most of them have gathered material from the works published earlier; and some even borrow maps without acknowledgement.

There have been many articles and research papers published in different Journals on political, social and cultural aspects of Chalukya history.

So far as the political history of the dynasty is concerned these works give a good account, though there is still scope for a detailed discussion. The religious, social and cultural history, however, needs to be treated thoroughly utilising and interpreting the available material. The architecture of the Chalukya period marks an important phase in the development of Indian architecture and no good study has come out as yet. Mention should be made here of the *Early Chalukyan Architecture and its Ramifications in Karnataka* by Shri K. V. Soundararajan which form the lectures delivered by the learned scholar in the Karnatak University. Though, in brief, the author has tried to explain the essential feature of the Chalukya temple architecture. Dr. Gupte has brought out a monograph on Aihole, its temples and sculptures which happens to be more a descriptive treatise than a critical study. The recent conservation work at Badāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal and the excavations conducted there, have brought to light many new structures. In the

light of this the whole temple complex of the Badāmi Chalukyas deserves a fresh study. The temples at Alampur and elsewhere belonging to this period have yet to be studied in detail.

Thus, little work is done here and there in the form of chapters in different books and also stray research papers. But a comprehensive treatise covering all aspects of the history of the dynasty is yet to be brought out. Nearly eight years ago, I had an occasion to see a thesis on this dynasty submitted to the Bombay University. But I do not know if it was subsequently published. There is a thesis in the Karnatak University, dealing with the administration of the Chalukyas. This work also is not yet published. We hear that a thesis on Aihole temples is being prepared by a student in the Karnatak University for the last six or eight years. Perhaps it is still being prepared.

There is much material to work upon the Chalukyas of Badāmi. Epigraphical material of course is not as copious as in the case of later Chalukyas, the Hoysalas and the Sēūnas. But some good new inscriptions have been discovered in recent years. The Huli copper plate inscription of Maṅgaḷarāja, the Maruṭura grant of Pulakêṣi II and quite a few inscriptions from Alampur can be studied usefully and much material can be culled out from them. Growth of religious and religious institutions, literature and society can be studied afresh. Reference is made above to the study of architecture. A comparative study of the architectural styles in the contemporary neighbouring kingdoms would be very fruitful in tracing the growth of Karnataka architecture and its influence outside. "The age of the Chalukyas constitutes a fundamental epoch in the history and culture of the Kannada land and its people." During this period a homogeneous territorial entity was carved out which came to be known as Karnataka extending over the vast tract between the Godavari and the Kāvêri. This

unification had its influence on the social and religious life and language, literature and art. It is worth while studying all these aspects of the Chalukyas' History harnessing all the available source material in the original.

The present Seminar obviously seeks to achieve this end through the papers read and discussed here. But I wonder if it can be a comprehensive and cogent study of all the aspects. Different people writing on different aspects with different approaches and equipment may not be able to bring the desired uniformity to the subject. In my opinion the task of writing a comprehensive history of the Chalukyas of Badāmi can be shouldered by one individual, who is well equipped with sound knowledge of Sanskrit and Kannada and, who of course, must be a first rate epigraphist. The discussions of this Seminar, I hope, will inspire such a competent scholar to fulfil this long-felt need.

LATEST INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI

G. S. GAI

In this paper, I propose to notice only a few important inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Badāmi which have been discovered recently. The first of such epigraphs is the Huli plates of Mangalarāja. They have been published by the late Dr. P. B. Desai.¹ I have also edited them in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica* which is still under publication.

This is the second copper-plate grant of Mangalarāja, the other one being the Nerur plates discovered as early as 1848 and published by Fleet,² where also the name of the king is spelt as Mangalarāja. The name of the dynasty is spelt in both these grants as *Chalikya* which is also found in the earliest record of the family discovered so far, viz., the Badāmi rock inscription of Pulakēśin I, dated Śaka 465 or 543 A.D., wherein the king is called *Chalikyō Vallabhēśvaraḥ*. Mangalarāja of the present grant, which is undated, is evidently the same king who was the son of Pulakēśin I and the younger half-brother of Kīrtivarman I and who ruled from 596 to 609. The object of the record is to register the gift of some land by Raviśakti, son of Kaṇṇaśakti who belonged to Phanikula and who was the lord of the Sēndrakas. So Kaṇṇaśakti and his son Raviśakti belonged to the Sēndraka family.

The interest of these Huli plates lies in the seal attached to the grant. It contains the figure of a standing tigress, suckling its cub. We know that the seals on the copper plate grants of the Chalukyas of Badāmi, including the Nerur plates of this Mangalarāja mentioned above, contain the figure of a boar (*varāha*) which was the royal emblem of the family. It is, therefore, difficult to explain the figure

of the tigress with its cub on the seal of the present Huli plates. Dr. Desai suggests that since Mangalêśa was a great warrior and since brave persons are described as having been suckled by a tigress, Mangalêśa chose to have the emblem of a tigress with a cub on the seal of this grant. In support of this suggestion, he quotes the name of Pulikêśi meaning 'tiger-haired' and also the titles like Raṇavikrama and Raṇavikrānta, indicating the military achievements of the members of the family. I am sorry to say that this suggestion of Dr. Desai to explain the seal of the grant is not convincing and hence not acceptable. If this emblem is used to display the valour of a warrior, then why is it found only in this grant and not in others—even of Mangalêśa? And it would have been more appropriate if the seals of the copper-plate grants of Pulikêśin II bore this emblem, because he was undoubtedly the greatest warrior of the dynasty. I would like to suggest that the emblem of the tigress with its cub on the seal may be attributed to the fact that the donor of the grant, viz., Raviśakti, son of Kaṇṇaśakti belonged to the Sêndraka family. Though we have no clear idea about the crest of the early Sêndrakas,³ the Sindas of the medieval period, who seem to be connected with these Sêndraka claim descent from *Nāgavaṁśa* and used tiger crest or *vyāghralāñchhana*. Thus the Sinda inscription from Bhairanmatti of the time of the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa and their Sinda feudatories tells us that the eponymous founder of this Sinda family was a certain Sinda, a human son of the serpent king Dharanendra, reared by a tiger. And the family is described as *Nāgavaṁśôdbhava*, *vyāghralāñchhana* and *Bhōgavatīpuraparamêśvara*. According to another account Sinda was born from the union of god Śiva and the river Sindhu and was brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.⁵ And the Sindas or Chhindas of Central India (Bastar region) are described as belonging to the Nāga race and had for their crest a tiger with a calf (cf. *Nāgavaṁśôdbhava*, *Bhōgavatīpuravarādhīśvara* and *sa-vatsa--vyāghra-*

lāñchhana in the Nagpur inscription⁶ of Sômeśvara dated Saka 1130). It is, therefore, very likely that the Sēndraka chiefs Kaṇṇaśakti and Raviśakti who were subordinates of the Chalukyas of Badāmi had also a tigress with a cub as their crest. And Raviśakti might have been a powerful and important chief of Mangalēśa and was allowed to use their crest on the seal of this copper-plate grant. In this way only we can explain the emblem on the seal of the grant in question. In the alternative, we have to presume that the ring and the seal did not originally belong to these plates which is unlikely.

The next inscription I wish to bring to your notice is the Māraṭūr grant which has been published by Dr. N. Ramesan.⁷ The name of the ruling king is mentioned as *Satyāśraya-śrī-prithvīvallabha-mahārājaḥ*, who is identified with Pulikēśin II by the editor of this grant. It is dated in the 8th regnal year of the king, Jyēshṭha, amāvāsyā, solar eclipse, when the king was camping at Kalūrapura soon after capturing Piśṭapura in a battle. The expression used in this connection is *Piśṭapurakadana-grahaṇānantaryyēṇa Kalūra-purā-vasthitēna*. The details of the above date correspond to Friday, the 21st May, 616 A.D. when there was a solar eclipse as required. If 616 A.D. is the 8th regnal year of Pulikēśin II, his first regnal year would be 608-09 A.D. and not 609-10 A.D., as thought of by Fleet and others, i.e., one year earlier. On this ground, viz., that the first year of the king has to be advanced by one year, Dr. Ramesh thinks that the record should be attributed to the reign of Vikramāditya I, the son and successor of Pulikēśin II, whose 8th regnal year would fall in 663 A.D. and the details would be regular for May 12 of that year.⁸ But this is not convincing. For, just to make the date regular, we cannot ignore the other factors mentioned in the epigraph. As pointed out by Dr. Sankaranarayanan, who has also edited this record,⁹ the defeat and capture of Piśṭapura is a distinct achievement of Pulikēśin II and not of Vikramāditya I

and hence the present grant should be attributed to the reign of Pulikēśin II only. The title *Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivīvallabha* is also characteristic of Pulikēśin II.

The object of the inscription is to register the grant, made by the king, of the village Māruṭūru, along with some other villages. This gift was made in order to enable the seniormost queen, Kadambā, to please her preceptor or father and also for the eternal bliss (*akshayaphala*) of the Āluka-mahārāja. This Āluka-mahārāja is stated to have come all the way from Mangalāpura at the cost of great personal sacrifice for the sake of the king, *i.e.*, Pulikēśin II. This Āluka-mahārāja seems to have died at Kallūru in the battle undertaken by Pulikēśin II. From the way in which this Āluka-mahārāja is touchingly referred to, in the inscription, he seems to be related to the king,—probably he was the father of his queen Kadambā, as pointed out by Dr. Sankaranarayanan. So this Āluka-mahārāja must have been a predecessor of Āluvarasa I (750-780 A.D.) of the Vaḍḍarse and other records mentioned by Dr. Ramesh.¹⁰ Mangalāpura is, no doubt, modern Mangalore which must have been the capital of Āluka-mahārāja in the 7th century A.D.

We may also notice one more copper-plate grant of Pulikēśin II, *viz.*, the Tumbeyanūru grant published by Dr. N. Ramesan.¹¹ It states that the gift village Tumbeyalūru was situated in *Chalukyavishaya* which seems to have formed parts of Kurnool and Mahbubnagar Districts of Andhra Pradesh, as suggested by the editor.

Another important record is the Nelkunda grant of Chalukya Abhinavāditya, son of Ādityavarman and grandson of Pulikēśin II. It was discovered about 20 years ago by Shri Hullur Srinivas Jois of Chitradurga and was later edited by the late Dr. P. B. Desai.¹² Both Ādityavarman and his son Abhinavāditya bore imperial titles and the importance of the charter lies in the fact that it reveals, for the

first time, the name of Abhinavāditya. Both he and his father Ādityavarman seem to have ruled in the intervening period between A.D. 642 to 665, *i.e.*, after Pulikēśin II and before Vikramāditya I.

Of the time of Vikramāditya I (655-681 A.D.), his Amudalapāḍu (Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh) plates dated in his 5th regnal year (660 A.D.) were discovered about 1956-57,¹³ and belong to the early part of his reign. The object is to register the gift, made by the king, of the village Maṛṛura in favour of Sudarśanāchārya for payment of *guru-dakṣhiṇā* on the occasion of the king's *Śiva-maṇḍala-dikṣhā*. This shows that Vikramāditya was initiated into the Śaiva faith by his *guru* Sudarśanāchārya. This fact is interesting in view of the fact that his predecessors Pula-kēśin II and Mangalēśa were called *Paramabhāgavatas*, indicating thereby that while the early members of the family were Vaishṇavas, Vikramāditya I became a follower of Śaiva faith. He is mentioned as *Paramamāhēśvara* in some records.¹⁴

A stone inscription in characters of about the 7th Century A.D., mentioning a certain ruler Piṭṭiamman was discovered at Arāḷihonda in Dharwar District and has been edited by Shri Katti.¹⁵ He is described as ruling over the earth (*prithvī-rājyam keye*) but his identity with any of the Chalukya kings of Badāmi is uncertain.

An inscription which can be ascribed to the reign of Vinayāditya has been found in the Svargabrahma temple at Alampur in the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh.¹⁶ It states that the temple (*dēvakula*) in honour of the queen (*mahādēvī*) of Vinayāditya was caused to be constructed by a certain Lokāditya-Eḷa-arasa.

We may notice two records of Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.), son and successor of Vinayāditya. One is a copper plate grant published by Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao.¹⁷ It is dated Saka 619 which is referred to as the first regnal year

of the king. Thus, it is the earliest of the records of this king discovered and it also confirms the surmise of Fleet that his rule commenced in 696 A.D. The second record is from Alampur. Actually the slab contains this record in two copies, one engraved in Telugu-Kannada characters and the other in early Nāgarī or Siddhamātrikā characters, thereby furnishing a rare specimen of early Nāgarī in South India¹⁸. They contain two dates, one Śaka 635 and the other Śaka 636 and state that the *prākāra* (enclosure) was got constructed by Iśānāchārya-svāmin.

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18. The other specimens are found in the Paṭṭadakal inscription of Kīrti-varman II (*Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 1 ff) and the Saluvanguppam inscription of Atiranachanda (*Ep. Ind.*, X, pp. 12-13).

ORIGIN OF THE CHALUKYAS

H. V. SREENIVASA MURTHY

The origin of the Chalukyas of Badāmi, a dynasty of rulers who ruled over Karnataka for well nigh over two hundred years (except for an interval of about fifteen years) and enriched Karnataka culture in more ways than one, has been the subject of great controversy among scholars, both oriental and occidental. Many theories, such as the hero of the family was created by Brahmādēva, or treating them as belonging to Gurjara or Scythian group or originating from Ayôdhya or Andhra country, have been put forward to determine their origin. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the problem afresh to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

The legendary origin theory of the Chalukyas is put forward by Vidyāpati Bilhaṇa, court poet of Tribhuvana-malla Vikramāditya, in his work *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita*. He says that on one occasion when Brahmādēva was engaged in his morning *sandhyā* devotions, god Indra came upto him and complained of the ever increasing sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the Brahmanical sacrifices and rites or offered oblations to gods. He prayed god Brahma to create a hero powerful enough to destroy the wicked people and put an end to the sorry state of affairs. The appeals of Indra moved Brahmādēva to action, who, thereupon, looked at his *chuluka*, i.e., the hollow of his palm where he held water in the course of devotional exercise for purposes of pouring out libation; and from it sprang a mighty warrior capable of protecting the three worlds. He became the eponymous ancestor of the line. In this line were born two great heroes, Hārita and Mānavya, who after punishing the erring rulers of the world raised the family of the Chalukyas to a distinct position. Bilhaṇa further informs us that

their original home was Ayôdhya and in course of time they migrated to Dakṣiṇāpatha and established their power.

This story finds its echo in the Ramastipundi grant of Vimalāditya of the eastern Chalukya family. This record is comprehensive and gives the most elaborate and full account of the Chalukyas. The first part of the preamble of the record gives their legendary origin and a mythical genealogy.

The historians of the Chalukyas have dismissed the story of Vidyāpati Bilhaṇa as unworthy of any credence. They argue that Chalukya is not a Sanskrit word, though Bilhaṇa transforms it into Chalukya and derives it from *Chuluka*. As Dr. Hoernle aptly remarks, "Despite the attempted Sanskrit derivation of the genealogists, I would suggest the same (*chalukya*) is not a Sanskrit word at all".¹ From the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. onwards attempts were made by rulers of many south Indian dynasties to give themselves respectable pedigrees with the assistance of their court poets, generally claiming descent from the sun and the moon². The same claim was also made by the Vēṅgi and Kalyāṇi branches of the Chalukyas and this explains the above story.

Dr. Hoernle derives the word Chalukya from a Turkish root *chap* meaning gallop and *chapaul* meaning a plundering raid a charge of cavalry.³ V. A. Smith, citing the *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, i, 1924, writes, "The same (Pulakēśin) occurs in a *chapa* geneology which is the only instance known to (Sir John) Fleet of its occurrence outside the Chalukya family. This fact supports Jackson's view that the Solankis or Chalukyas were connected with the Gurjaras, of whom the chapas were a branch".⁴ According to the speculations of Dr. Rice, the word Chalukya resembles *selenkia* and that bitter wars between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas may be explained as a continuation in south India of the quarrels of the Seleucidae and the Arsacidae (Parthians), the Pallavas being regarded as the Parthians.

There is little evidence to support the above views. The derivation of the word from the Turkish root is unsatisfactory and the supposed identity of the Chalukyas and the Gurjaras does not bear any resemblance to the different forms of names that occur in the Chalukyan records. Regarding the Pallava and Parthian identity, it is argued that the words 'Pallava' and 'Pahlava' may be same philologically, but historically the two terms refer to two different peoples. This is clear from Rājaśêkhara's *Bhuvanakôṣa*. In this work, the author regards the Pallavas and the Pahlavas as different peoples occupying South India and the Trans-Indus Valley respectively. As the identity between the two words has lost its weight, Rice's view loses its force.

We may now examine the preambles of the early and late Chalukyan records to elicit solution to the problem of the Chalukyan origin. The Badāmi cave inscription of Kīrtivarman I (578 A.D.), the earliest record of the family, speaks of them as meditating at the feet of the sacred *svāmī* (Kārtikêya of the later inscriptions) and as having their heads purified by the final ablutions after the performance of the *agnishṭôma*, *agnichayana*, *vājapêya*, *paundarika*, *bahusuvârṇa*, and *aśvamêdha* sacrifices. The Haiderabad grant of Pula-kesin II (A.D. 612) describes them as belonging to "the family of the Chalukyas who are Hāritiputras of the Mānavyagôtra which is praised throughout the world; who have been nourished by the seven mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have acquired an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of Kārtikêya; who have had all kings made subject to them at the sight of the boar-crest which they acquired through the favour of the divine Nārāyaṇa".

These preambles reveal a striking identity between the family of the Chalukyas and the Chūṭas who called themselves as Sātavāhanas and the Kadambas. The Sātavāhanas and the Kadambas were the two noted Brāhmaṇa dynasties that ruled Karnataka before the Chalukyas. The Chalukyas,

like the Kadambas, belonged to Mānavyagôtra and they were also descendants of the original ancestor Hārīti. Again, like the Kadambas, the Chalukyas were the worshippers of Kārtikēya and being Brāhmaṇas of kingly race, they performed Vedic sacrifices. These similarities naturally suggest that they were Brāhmaṇas, who, like the Kadambas, took to arms when the situation demanded it. The statement in the Haiderabad grant, 'who have had all kings made subject to them at the sight of the boar-crest which they acquired through the favour of the divine Nārāyaṇa' is very significant and symbolic. 'This crest was adopted to indicate the nature of their work, that of protecting the earth from molestation by bad rulers, by suggesting a comparison with the task achieved by Lord Nārāyaṇa in his boar incarnation'. When the Kadamba rule fell on evil days their feudatories began to assert their independence. In the resultant confusion that followed, the Chalukyas seized power.

Thus the identification of Chalukya with Mahāsēna Mahātālaṽvāra Vāsiṣṭhiputra Kandachalīki Remmaṇaka, the feudatory chief under Ikshvākus of Nagarjunikonda and thereby treating them as Andhras seems far fetched.⁵ He is called Vāsiṣṭhiputra and belonged to the family of Hiraṇṇaka or Hiraṇyakas, whereas the Chalukyas were Hārīti-putras and belonged to Mānavyagôtra. Likewise, the statement in the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V that 'fifty-nine kings of that lineage reigned at the city of Ayôdhya and passed away, and after that, sixteen governed the Dakṣiṇāpatha or region of the south' is equally unconvincing. The record speaks of Ayôdhya as their original home. In the first place, the lateness of the record makes its account suspect. There is a gap of about five centuries between foundation of the Chalukya dynasty and the Kauthem grant. By this time the real history having been forgotten, they took to new innovations. This explains the location of their original home at Ayôdhya and assigning for themselves the solar and the lunar race. The story of the death of Vijayā-

ditya a prince of the family, in an encounter with Trilôchana Pallava, the upbringing of his posthumous son, Vishṇuvardhana by Vishṇubhaṭṭa-sômayâjin and the successful attempt she made later to establish the Chalukya power seems at best imaginary. The story of the founder of a dynasty being born fatherless of a mother-in-adversity and then gaining power by the favour of gods is usual with many dynasties. It merely explains the 'Brâhmaṇa' Chalukya's attempts to assume 'Kṣatriya' status.

More fanciful is the interpretation of the name *Khanda Caliki Remmanaka* by Prof. Sten Konow. He takes this to be a Kannada word and writes : "Thus Kanda means child in Kanarese and chaḷi, 'cold'. Chalikiremmaṇaka probably in cheḷikiramaka, i.e., 'Moon'." Such irregular splitting of the word, instead of taking it as a whole compound, can give only fanciful meaning. The proper thing to do is to take it as *Kandachaḷiki* or *Skandachaḷiki* and the terms *raṇaka* or *ramaka* being honorific prefix or suffix of the proper name *chaḷiki*.

In the records of the Western Chalukyas, the name of the family is given as *Chalkya* (Badâmi inscription of Kîrtivarman I), *Chalikya* (Nerur grant of Mangalêsa), *Chalikya* (Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription of Mangalêsa), and *Chalukya* (Aihole pillar inscription of Pulakêśin II). The Lohner grant of Pulakêśin II appears to read the name as *Chulukikin*, whereas the intended reading appears to be *Chalukika*. In later records we have the forms *Chalukya*, *Chalukki* (Nausari grant of Avanijanâśraya Pulakêśin of Gujarat) and *Salukki* (Guntur plates of Guṇaga Vijayâditya III). As Prof. K. A. Nilakantasastri rightly points out, whether the name of the founder of the family is Chaliki or not, there is now little room for doubt that the Chalukyas, like the Chūṭas and the Kadambas to whom they bear many resemblances, and like the Râshṭrakūṭas, were an indigenous clan which rose to importance in the service of the later

Sātavāhanas and their successors. They belonged to the Karnataka country, sometimes also called by the name Kuntala, and their mother-tongue was Kannada.⁶

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EARLY CHALUKYA RULERS (TO PULAKĒŚI I)

H. R. RAGHUNATH BHAT

The ascendancy of the Imperial Chalukyas of Badāmi inaugurates a new epoch in the political and cultural history of South India in general and of Karnataka in particular. In fact the Early Western Chalukyas were the most important dynasty of rulers that held sway over the Deccan before the foundation of Vijayanagara.¹

Inscriptions, of course, form our main source. But even this most reliable class of sources offer problems, particularly in reconstructing the history of the Early Chalukya rulers. Moreover, the contemporary inscriptions of these early rulers are few and far between. Many inventions and embellishment seem to be constantly at work in the later records. Sometimes they profess to give more detailed and widely different legendary accounts of the Early Chalukya rulers who were treated summarily in the earlier records. The data from the later inscriptions have, therefore, to be worked up with discretion. The treatment of the present topic, viz., *The Early Chalukya Rulers (to Pulakēśi I)* is consequently selective so as to avoid or minimise the fruitless controversies.

Leaving out the myths and legends about the origin of the Early Chalukyas, the current view seems to be, and there are reasons to believe it, that originally the Early Chalukyas might have been an agricultural folk residing round about Badāmi. But later on when the Chalukya dynasty became very powerful, glorious legends were perhaps invented to give the Imperial Dynasty Puranic antiquity and sanctity. Thus the genealogy of the early members of the family seems to be mixed up with the mythology and Puranic legends which grew in length and complexity. The

historical period which reflects the Puranic influence may also be taken into consideration. The Chalukya-Gupta period saw the full development of the Puranas and the Sanskrit literature. Puranic genealogy, religion, religious ceremonies, mythology, idol-worship, love of Puranic gods—all these got reflected in the contemporary and later records.²

Bearing this historical context in mind, we may summarise the account of the Early Chalukya rulers as found in the various records:

(A) *Literary Accounts*: Ranna, one of the greatest poets in Kannada, in his monumetnal work *Gadāyuddha* or *Sāhasa Bhīma Vijaya* gives the pedigree of his hero's family (Satyāśraya Tailapa II, A.D. 973-97).³ We may mention here only the Early Chalukya rulers.

Among Satyāśraya's ancestors were mentioned Satyāśraya Vallabha also known as Viṣṇuvardhana, the lord of Ayōdhyāpura and abode of truth and other virtues,⁴ Jayasimha, a lion to the elephants, Rāṣṭrakūṭas⁵; Raṇarāgasimha, a Rama in war⁶; Pulikēśidēva, lord of Vātāpipura, a performer of horse-sacrifice, with a glory extending the other dvīpas.⁷

The genealogy given by Ranna does not quite satisfactorily agree with the published genealogy of the Early Chalukya dynasty based on available inscriptions.⁸ But still it deserves consideration by scholars, for it comes from a poet who was a contemporary and protege of Taila II. He may be supposed to have had access to the official records. Bilhana, who is said to have come from Kashmir, was the Vidyāpati or Chief Pandit of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A.D.). In his *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*,⁹ he gives somewhat different account of the Early Chalukya rulers. As the Pandit states, the ancestor of the Chalukyas sprang from

the *Chaluka* of the creator Brahma. From him descended the Chalukyas—a race of heroes.

(B) *Epigraphical Accounts*: According to the Kauthem Grant of Vikramāditya V¹⁰ (dated 1009) fifty-nine kings of the Chalukya lineage ruled from Ayôdhya. After them sixteen kings ruled over Dakṣiṇāpatha. Their power was temporarily eclipsed. It was then restored by Jayasimha Vallabha. The Baligave inscription of Jayasimha II¹¹ (dated 1019), while repeating the same genealogy, mentions that one Satyāśraya was born in the Chalukya family from whom the whole family came to be called the family of Satyāśraya (*Satyāśrayakula*). The Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana Rāja I of the Eastern Branch of the Chalukya family,¹² on the other hand, commences the Chalukya genealogy from God Brahma. Atri, Sôma, Budha, Purūravas, Āyu, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Puru, Janamējaya..... (here follow fourteen names), Dushyanta, Bharata..... (here follow nine names), Santanu, Vichitra-vīrya, Pāṇḍu, Arjuna, Abhimanyu, Parikṣhita, Kshê-mêndra, Naravāhana, Satanika and Udayana descended in unbroken lineal succession. A descendant from this royal family, named Vijayāditya, came to the South, with a desire to conquer the country. He fought with Tribhuvana Pallava (an imaginary person) and lost his life in the encounter. His queen, who was then in the family way, escaped with her attendants. One Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Sômayājīn gave shelter to her at the *agrahāra* of Muḍivêmu. She gave birth to a posthumous son. He was named Viṣṇuvardhana as a mark of gratitude to the saint Viṣṇubhaṭṭa. The prince, who was brought up in the traditions of the Kshatriyas, was eager to avenge the death of his father. He worshipped Goddess Nandagauri or Nandi Bhagavatî, Kumāra (Kārtikêya). Nārāyaṇa and Saptamātrikas, on the Mount Chalukyagiri (an imaginary hill). He conquered the Kadambas, Gangas and other kings. He defeated the Pallavas and married their daughter. His son was Vijayāditya. He assumed the royal insignia¹³ of the Chalukya family and established himself

as the Emperor of the Deccan (Dakṣiṇāpatha seven-and-half-lakh country) lying between the Narmadā and Sētu (Rama's bridge) in the extreme south.

Of course, even in the early records, we may notice faint indications of some such ideas. A passage in the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Mangalēśa (dated 602 A.D.) describes Pulakēśi I to have descended from God Hiranya-garbha (Brahma).¹⁴ The Aihole Inscription of Pulakēśi II (dated 634 A.D.)¹⁵ states that Jayasimha was preceded by many members of this family. But these statements are too vague to deduce the exact position of the Early Chalukya rulers.

Thus most of these legends from the *Praśasti* portion of the stone inscriptions, copper-plate grants and literary records, are generally of late origin.¹⁶ They differ from one another in some important particulars. No truth can probably be extracted from such legends which gained currency in later days. Scholars, therefore, have rejected these late legendary accounts of the rise of the Early Chalukya rulers as "a mere farrago of vague legends and Puranic myths of no authority or value".

However, it is necessary, now, to make a fresh study based on the re-examination of the relevant epigraphical records. It is also necessary to find out the relevance of the early fields of activities to their subsequent appearance as the Imperial Dynasty of Karnataka.

The circumstances which led to the rise of the Early Chalukya rulers are not clearly set forth. It is likely that they were serving as the subordinates or the feudatories under the Kadambas of Banavāsi in the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Kadamba authority which was declining, the Early Chalukya rulers overpowered them. As most of the territories formerly under the Kadambas were then included in the newly established Chalukya kingdom, it becomes evident

that the Early Chalukyas of Badāmi were the direct political successors of the Kadambas of Banavāsi.¹⁷

According to the historical traditions of the Early Chalukya family recorded in the inscriptions and literature, the earliest known member of the dynasty is Jayasimha—‘the Lion of Victory’ (C. 500–520 A.D.). He is supposed to have flourished in the Badāmi region probably in the first half of the 6th century A.D. No inscription of Jayasimha is found so far.

Among the genuine records of the early period, the earliest reference to Jayasimha Vallabha is found in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Mangaleśa, which extols him as ‘The illustrious Jayasimha, the king, the chief of favourites, was like (the god) Maghavan (Indra), possessed of virtuous qualities, (and) who in affluence resembled (the god) Vaiśravaṇa (Kubēra)’.¹⁸

The Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II (dated 634 A.D.) describes Jayasimha as, “There was of the Chalukya lineage, the king named Jayasimha Vallabha, who in battle where horses, foot-soldiers and elephants, bewildered, fell down under the strokes of many hundreds of weapons, and where thousands of frightful headless trunks and of flashes of rays of swords were leaping to and fro—by his bravery made Fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness”.¹⁹

However, these early records do not attribute any outstanding achievements to Jayasimha. Jayasimha Vallabha is said to have become a king (*nripah*) after many rulers of the Chalukya lineage had passed away. But nothing is known about these early members of the Chalukya family. And little is known about the events of the reign of Jayasimha Vallabha, according to these early records.

But in later times, probably when the real facts were forgotten, legends seem to have been invented to illustrate

in a glorious way, the rise and early history of the early rulers of the Chalukya family.

According to the Kauthem Grant,²⁰ Jayasimha Vallabha or Jayaśimha I conquered the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra (l. 15), the son of Kṛishṇa, possessed of an army of eight hundred elephants, and destroying five hundred other kings, established again the royal fortunes of the sovereigns of the Chalukya family (l. 16). But the early records or inscriptions contain no allusion to any such event. Moreover no Rāshtrakūṭa king of the name of Indra is known to have held sway over this region of Karnataka at this early period.²¹ Therefore this account cannot be accepted as authentic as far as the Early Chalukya rulers are concerned. Probably the statement of this inscription only reflects the later event of restoration of the Kalyāṇa Chalukya dynasty by Satyāśraya Taila II, who overthrew the Rāshtrakūṭas. Had Jayasimha achieved such a great victory, it would certainly have found a proper place in the early records, especially in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśi II, which gives us an elaborate account of the first century of the Chalukya rule.

The *Undikavāṭika Grant of Abhimanyu* mentions certain Jayasingha as the commander of Harivatsakoṭṭa. Panchamukhi suggests that Jayasimha, the grand-father of Pulakeśi I, was identical with his namesake mentioned in this grant²². As the record may be assigned to the 6th century A.D., it is, no doubt, tempting to identify Jayasingha of the *Undikavāṭika Grant* with Jayasimha-Vallabha of the Badāmi Chalukyas. But even in this case his relation to the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura, which is an early and less important family of the Rāshtrakūṭas, cannot be determined with any amount of certainty, especially in view of the great influence of the Kadamba style in the documents of the Early Chalukyas.²³ *Vallabhēśvara*, *Vallabha*, or *Vallabhēndra* seem to be the attributes of Jayasimha. However, Jayasimha Vallabha might not have enjoyed any semblance of sovereign power.

It may be that his name was simply taken to be placed at the head of the genealogy.²⁴ Thus Jayasimha Vallabha is probably represented as a petty chief without any achievement to his credit in the records of the Early Chalukyas of Badāmi especially in the Aihole Inscription of Pulakēsi II.

Jayasimha's son was Raṇarāga (C. 520-540)²⁵ 'he who delights in war'. We do not have any inscription of Raṇarāga, so far known. Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Mangalēśa, refers to Raṇarāga in the following terms:

'Resembling him (Jayasimha Vallabha) in virtuous qualities and heroism and affluence, from (him, who was) a very receptacle of brilliance, energy, valour, memory, intellect, splendour, polity and refinement, there was born one who was possessed of an auspicious name, the king called Raṇarāga, who by (his) fondness for war elicited the affection of his own people and caused vexation of mind to (his) enemies'²⁶.

Aihole Inscription of Pulakēsi II describes him as 'Raṇarāga was of divine dignity; he was one, the master of the world, whose superhuman nature, (even) when he was asleep, people knew from the pre-eminence of his form'²⁷. But this description from the point of view of the relevance to his early history, is not clear. Unless we understand the poetic mind and visualise the period we cannot make out anything. But the great influence of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* is clearly to be seen in the beautiful description of Raṇarāga.

However, in the later inscriptions, Raṇarāga is described as a prince of great valour and he had a stately and gigantic personality. The Nilgunda Plates of Vikramāditya VI (dated 1087 A.D. and 1123 A.D.), for instance describes Raṇarāga that he was 'not only *Ripusainyarāga* but also *Haracharaṇarāga*'. Ranna also glorifies Raṇarāga as 'beloved of the people, most powerful and Rāma in war'.²⁸

Thus, Raṇarāga, like his beloved father, may possibly have held some military or executive office under the Kadambas of Banavāsi. Such a position of Raṇarāga would have easily paved the way for Pulakēśi I to acquire Badāmi and establish his independent rule.

The first independent ruler and the real founder of the Early Chalukya Dynasty appear to be Raṇarāga's 'dear son' (*Prityatanuja*)³⁰ Pulakēśi I (540-556 A.D.)³¹.

The political conditions in the 6th Century A.D. seems to have been conducive to Pulakēśi I. The Kadambas of Banavāsi were on the decline and their independent rule was almost coming to a close. This was probably the last year of Krishṇavarma II's reign. This apparently afforded an excellent opportunity for a strong person to spring on the scene. It was at this juncture that Pulakēśi I, the ambitious Chalukya chief, who was probably a subordinate of the Kadambas, inflicted a defeat on Krishṇavarman II (in about 540 A.D.). Thus Pulakēśi I established himself as an independent ruler of the Early Chalukyas.

Badāmi cliff Sanskrit Inscription of Chalukya Vallabhēśvara (Śaka 465-A.D. 543) is the only genuine record of Pulakēśi I, so far known³². This inscription states that 'Chalukya Vallabhēśvara made the great hill of Vātāpi into an invincible citadel unapproachable from the top as well as from the bottom for the prosperity (*i.e.*, security) of the earth'. No historical remains assignable to the pre-Chalukyan period are, however, forthcoming in the area of Vātāpi,³³ (excepting the dolmens in the nearby place called Ramatirtha)³⁴. The historically certain event connected with this place is the construction of the Fort as recorded as in the cliff inscription. This is, in fact, the most important and solid contribution to the steady growth of the early Chalukya Dynasty. Vātāpi might have developed side by side with the founding of the city as the royal capital. The choice of the capital was dictated by strategic considerations. Vātāpi itself stood

on a defensible eminence within three miles of the Malaprabhā river. Among the hills to the east is Mahākūṭa, five miles farther in the same direction and on the river is Paṭṭadakal and another eight miles down the river is Aihole—all these witnessed the age of the Chalukyan ascendancy.

Some of the later inscriptions of his successors refer to the great achievement, *i.e.*, the construction of the hill fortress of Vātāpi—of Pulakēśi I. In the Aihole Inscription of Pulakēśi II for example, occurs a passage, which appears to be much discussed by the scholars [though Pulakēśi was the consort of Indukānti and though he was Śrī Vallabha, he had espoused the bride (*i.e.*, the city) of Vātāpipuri].³⁵ This achievement of Pulakēśi I was also very well remembered by the later Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa. In those records Pulakēśi I is hailed as “*Vātāpipuri-Varapatih.*” Dr. K. V. Ramesh has reinterpreted the passage which occurs in the introductory part of the Chiplun plates of Pulakēśi II³⁶. By modifying Dr. Fleet’s translation³⁷ and correcting Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri’s subsequent conclusions³⁸, Dr. Ramesh states that ‘*Prathama Vidhātri*’ (the first maker of Vātāpi) was Pulakēśi I himself and so the passage should be taken to refer to Pulakēśi I.³⁹

It was once, widely believed by scholars that Pulakēśi II was the first ‘*Satyāśraya*’ among the Early Chalukyas.⁴⁰ But genuine records attributing this epithet to Pulakēśi I himself have come to light. Pulakēśi I was, therefore, the first of the Early Chalukya rulers to have the dynastic attribute of *Satyāśraya*. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription, the Hyderabad Plates (612 A.D.) of *Pulakēśi II* and the Satara Plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I give this family attribute of *Satyāśraya* to Pulakēśi I. The Satara plates actually declare that Pulakēśi I had earned that epithet by his exemplary conduct.

In the *Praśasti* portion of the copper plate charters and stone inscriptions and other records Pulakēśi I finds mention in the more or less settled expression:

*Chalukyānām Kulamalaṅkarishṇuḥ aśyamēdhāva-
bhritasnāna
pavitṛikṛita gōtra Śrī Pulakēśi vallabha Mahārājaḥ ||*

From this established expression, we may derive certain conclusions. Pulakēśi I was acknowledged by his posterity as the *de facto* inaugurator of the Early Chalukya Dynasty. He is, in fact, the first of the Chalukya family to be endowed with the regal title *Mahārāja*. *Vallabha* is also considered more or less an inherent part of his name.⁴¹

‘Raṇavikrama’ was probably the second name of Pulakēśi I. The Godachi plates⁴² (578 A.D.) of Kaṭṭi-arasa, *i.e.*, Kīrtivarma I and the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Mangalēśa refer to Pulakēśi I as Raṇavikrama. The Satara⁴⁴ (616-17 A.D.) and Timmapuram⁴⁵ plates of Viṣṇu-wardhana I also refer to Pulakēśi I as Raṇavikrama. In the Lohaner Plates⁴⁶ (630-31 A.D.) of Pulakēśi II, Pulakēśi I is referred to as “*Raṇavikrama Dvitiyanāmā Pulakēśi Vallabha Mahārājaḥ*”.

Pulakēśi I is also attributed with some more epithets like *Chalikya Vallabhēśvara*,⁴⁷ *Svaguṇair-lokavallabha-Vallabhah*,⁴⁸ *Satyāśraya-Śrī-Prithvī Vallabha-Raṇavikramāṅkanripah*,⁴⁹ etc. In the light of these attributes it becomes clear that the term *Vallabha* is associated with the personality of Pulakēśi I in the conventional narratives found in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas and their scions.⁵⁰ Genuine epigraphical records of the Early Chalukyas also make it clear that Pulakēśi I called himself only a *Mahārāja*. But an interesting exception to this case is found in the Godachi Plates of Kīrtivarma I. The record introduces Pulakēśi I as Raṇavikrama *dharma mahārāja*. This is probably because of the influence of the *Prasasti* of the Kadambas, Pallavas, etc., who also bore the titles *dharma maharaja*, *dharma mahārājādhi-rāja*, etc.⁵²

Pulakēśi himself probably attached great importance to his performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.⁵¹ He is supposed

to be the only ruler among Early Chalukyas who is credited with the performance of such a great sacrifice. This is amply borne out by many statements found in the available records. In the Badāmi cliff Inscription of Chalukya Vallabhēśvara (Pulakēśi I) we find the statement “*Aśvamedhādi yajñānām yajva Śrauta Vidhānataḥ*”.

The Aihole Inscription of Pulakēśi II states that ‘mother-earth herself was bathed with the purificatory ablutions which accompanied the performance of the horse-sacrifice by Pulakēśi I.’ In some of the copper-plates and stone inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa occur the following verse:

*Vayamapi Pulakēśi Kṣmāpatim Varṇayantaḥ Pulakēśi-
dēhāḥ
Paśyatādyāpi santaḥ sahi turaga gajēndra grāma sārāṇi
sahasra dvaya
Parimitam ṛtvik sāchchakārāśvamēdhē*”.

Bhūlokamalla Sōmēśvara III, in his famous historical Sanskrit Champu *Vikramāṅkabhūdayaṁ* says⁵⁴:

*yasya aśvamēdhē dhvarē kairapyaniruddhaśchatuḥ samudra
mudritām
bhūta dhātrīm babhrāma turamgamaḥ
yaścha-ritvigbhyas-trayōdaśa sahasrāṇi grāmānām
Dakṣiṇāmāyat* |

All these quotations highlight the paramount position which Pulakēśi I had rightly earned for himself in the Early Chalukya family.⁵⁵

The expression of the Badāmi rock cliff Sanskrit Inscription (*aśvamēdhādi yajñānām yajva*) implies that Pulakēśi I had also performed other religious ceremonies, besides the great *Aśvamēdhā* yāga. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription⁵⁶ of Mangalēśa adds the *Agnisṭōma*, *Agnichayana*, *Vājapēya*, *Bāhusuvarṇa*, *Paundarīka*, *Hiraṇyagarbha* rites.

Some of the later records like the Mudhol Plates of Pūgavarma, Nerur Plates of Mangalēśa, the Lohanar Plates of Pulakēśi II, Nerur Plates of Pulakēśi II and the Chiplun Plates allude to the performance of some of these sacrifices. In the *Vikramāñkābhya-dayam*, Sōmēśvara III says that Pulakēśi I performed the sixteen *mahādānas* during every *sankrānti*.⁵⁷ The fact that Pulakēśi I performed so many principal sacrifices goes to show that he was really a paramount ruler. Incidentally we may also presume that Puranic religion and religious rites might have also influenced the Early Chalukya Rulers particularly Pulakēśi I.

From the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Mangalēśa⁵⁸ we learn that Pulakēśi I's wife was Durlabhadēvī of the Batpura family⁵⁹. Whether Pulakēśi I had another queen named Indukānti⁶⁰ or not, it is not satisfactorily proved. That Pulakēśi I, Chalukya Vallabhēśvara, had two sons—Kirtivarma I, the elder (*Jyēṣṭha*) and Mangalēśa, the younger (*Kaniyān*) is well known. Whether Pūgavarman was another son, the eldest, of Pulakēśi I or it was another name of Kirtivarma I it is not easy to decide.⁶¹

The regal attributes, titles and other glorifying statements found in the early and later Chalukya records show that Pulakēśi I was the first paramount founder of the Early Chalukya Dynasty. He is praised in the Nerur Grant of Mangalēśa for his wisdom in counsel and his knowledge of the laws of Manu and of the great epics—the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. He is also said to have followed the advice of the elders and of respected Brāhmaṇas. He is compared with such mythical heroes as Yayāti and Dilīpa. He is described as a prince of great power who mounted on his *Chitrakānta* (horse) and extended his conquests over the whole country from the Ganges to Ceylon.⁶² This may be a little exaggerated statement as far as Pulakēśi I is concerned. But still history, as Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri⁶³ rightly says, must treat Pulakēśi I as the first ruler and founder of the dynasty of the Chalukyas of Badāmi.

Thus in our final assessment of the Early Chalukya Rulers (to Pulakēṣi I), it would become clear that though the Early Chalukya rulers particularly Pulakēṣi I, established their rule in the first half of the 6th century A.D., they became Imperial Masters of Karnataka only in the second half of the 6th Century A.D. probably during the eventful reign of Kīrtivarman I.

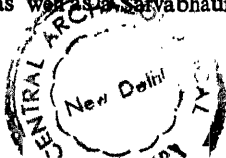
REFERENCES

1. *EHD.*, Pts. I-VI, p. 204.
2. Reference to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi and the great influence of these classical Sanskrit poets on the records may also be taken into consideration.
3. RANNA: *Gadāyuddha*, Chapter I, (Second *Āśvāsa*) See prose passage after Verse I.
4. *Ayodhyāpura Paramēśvaranum Satyadi gunavallabham atipravridham āda diśadanti prakāṣa prabhāvanum appa Satyāśraya vallabhanum vishṇuvardhana aparānāma dhēyanum.*
5. *Rāshṭrakūṭagaja-ghaṣa Vighaṣana simhaṇ-enisida Jayasimhadevanum.*
6. *Atipravardhana prajānurāganum atiprabala raṇa-rāganum enisida raṇa-ranga simhaṇum.*
7. *Vātāpipura Paramēśvaranum asvamēdha yajñadikshitanum dvīpāntara prakāṣa prabhāvanum enisida Pulakēśidēvanum.*
8. See Fleet: *DKD*, pp. 336, 379.
9. *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 317; *Vikramankadeva Charita*, Sarga, 1, *Slōka* 30-66.
10. *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 21.
11. *Ibid.*, V, p. 17.
12. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 48; XIX, p. 42, XX, p. 274.
13. White parasol, the single conch, the fierce mahāśabda, the Pālidhvaja, the drum called Pratiḍhakkā, the boar emblem, the peacock's tail, the spear, the *makara* arch, the golden sceptre, and the signs of Gangā and Yamunā.
14. *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 19.
15. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 1 ff.
16. It is curious to know that in about 10th Century A.D., almost all families of south India were looking up their pedigrees and devising more or less fabulous genealogies. See Fleet, *DKD.*, p. 343 and notes 2 and 3, p. 340.

17. DESAI, P. B., (ed.), *A History of Karnataka*, Dharwar, 1971, p. 89.
18. *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 17, text line 2-3.
19. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 1 ff, text line 2-3.
20. *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 21, text line 13-16.
21. DESAI, P. B., (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p. 92.
22. PANCHAMUKHI, R. S., *Karnatakada Itihasa*, Dharwar, 1967, p. 156-7
23. *Classical Age*, p. 200.
24. According to the prescribed rules of the law books the genealogical part of the grant should give names of at least three generations. See Burnel, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, (II Edn.) pp. 94-105.
25. DR. FLEET, does not endorse Dr. Hultzsch's identification of Raṇarāga with one Raṇarasika of the Pallava records. See Fleet *DKD*, p. 329.
26. *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 7-20, text line 3.
27. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 1 ff, text line 3.
28. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 142 ff, text line 13.
29. *Atipravardhana prajānurāgaṇum atiprabala raṇa rāgaṇum enisida raṇarāgasimhanum*, Ranna: Gadhayuddha 2nd Āśvāsa.
30. The expression 'Priyatanuja' may apparently mean that he was chosen among the several brothers, i.e., he is being 'accepted as his favourite son or successor'.
31. The name Pulakēśi seems to have been spelt differently. Thus we get the form of Polakesi, Polekesi, Polikesi, Pulikesi and once as Bolakesi in the available records. We are not sure about the exact meaning of the name. Scholars like Dr. Fleet, Dr. Hultzsch, Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, suggest the probable meaning only. It may be a hybrid Kannada-Sanskrit word meaning "tiger-haired". As Dr. K. V. Ramesh puts it 'it is even possible that the name Pulakesi is a later development of Dravidian *Pole* and Sanskrit *Kēsin*, meaning "possessed of lustrous hair"'.
32. There are however two spurious grants: one is the grant of Pimpalner in the Khandesh Dist. (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 293); the other is the British Museum Grant, obtained from somewhere in South Maratha country or in the Kannada Nadu (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 209).
33. It is interesting to know that the name Vātāpi was associated with the best mountain (Dhārādharēndra), only before the durga (fortress) had been built there by Pulakesi I. Perhaps prior to this, the place was not used as a stronghold of political power. However, Vātāpi is mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (2nd Century A.D.) under the name *Badiamaiot* (Badami). See Mcindrie's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 171.

34. Near Badami, in the sandstone hillrange, a prehistoric rock shelter has been located. This is called '*Shidalphadi*'. While on the floor of the natural rockshelter, Stone Age tools are recovered, the walls of the shelter have painted inscriptions referring to the famous lines from the inscription of Kappe Arabhatta: Editor.
35. *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 4, text line 3.
36. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 51, text line 9-10.
37. *Bomb. Gaz.* Vol I, Part II, p. 345.
38. *EHD.*, p. 208.
39. RITTI, S. H. and GOPAL, B. R., *Studies in Indian History and Culture* p. 218 ; See also Ramesh, K. V., *Karnatakada Sasana Samikshe*, Bangalore, 1971, p. 35.
40. *Ind. Ant.*, X, pp. 60-61.
41. RITTI, S. H. and GOPAL, B. R., *Op. Cit.*, p. 215.
42. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, p. 62, text line 4.
43. *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 17, text line 4.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 409, text line 4.
45. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 318, text line 3.
46. *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 39, text line 8-9.
47. *Ibid.*, XVII, pp. 4-9.
48. *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 161, text line 5.
49. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, p. 297, text line 5.
51. A passage occurring in the Manor Plates (See *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 17-22) of Chalukya Vinayaditya, Mangalarasa of Gujarat is reinterpreted by Dr. K. V. Ramesh. According to him the first Chalukya name to occur in the prasasti portion is that of *Satyasraya Prithvivallabha Pulakesi I* and not Kirtivarman I who does not appear to have performed Asvamedhayaga. On the strength of the already known facts, Dr. Ramesh states that it is only justifiable to insert "sunoh" or some such word meaning 'of his son' after Sri Prithvi Vallabha (such instances of scribal lapses are by no means rare in the history of Indian Epigraphy) See RAMESH, K. V., *Karnataka Sasana Samikshe*, Bangalore, 1971, p. 35-36.
52. See *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp 142-55; pp. 274-77; pp. 303-15; *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, pp. 15-24.
53. *Vikramāṅkabhūdayam*, p. 17 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 150).
54. Usually only imperial monarchs are empowered to perform Asva medhayaga in cognisance of their unchallenged sway over the land. (e.g., Samudragupta). But in the *Apastambha* srauta sutra (Chapter XX) the Sarvabhauma as well as the Sarvabhauma kings are allowed

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to perform the asvamedhayaga. Pulakesi I who had just carved a separate kingdom could never claim any imperial position. But still even as a powerful chief he had subdued the enemies and established himself almost independently at Vatapi. As a token of his significant victories he might have performed Asvamedhayaga. He is in fact the only ruler among the Early Chalukyas who is stated to have performed the Asvamedhayaga.

55. *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 9 ff.

56. It is interesting to know the significance of all these sacrifices.

57. *Yaścha pratisankrānti shoḍaśābhīr-mahādānair-viPrasārthakṛitārtham akṛita*; Hiranyagarbha (Golden Womb) refresh a great gift (Mahā dāna) which is one of the 16 Mahādānas enumerated in Hemadri' 'Dānakhandā', Chapter 5 and in the *Matsyapurāṇa* Chap. 24 See also Sircar, D. C., *Successors of the Satavahanas*, pp. 50 ff.

58. *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 9 ff.

59. Batpura or Banthura ?

60. RITTI, S. H. and GOPAL, B. R., *Op. Cit.*, p. 221 note 33. In the context in which the word *Indukanti* occurs in the expression of "*Sritendukanti rāpi a yasid—Vatapi puri-Vadhu-Varaṇam*", the conclusion that Indukanti was a queen of Pulakesi I is, according to Dr. K. V Ramesh, more convincing than the prosaic interpretation that Pulakesi I was endowed with the lustre of the moon. The inference that before Pulakesi I built the fortress and city of Vatāpi he was the lord of a city called Indukanti stands unproven.

61. DESAI, P. B., (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1970, p. 93 and also Ritti, S. H. and Gopal, B. R., (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p. 220.

62. RICE, L., *Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. I, Bangalore, 1877, p. 204.

63. *EHD.*, pp. 203 ff.

PULAKĒŚIN II — HIS CAREER AND PERSONALITY

K. V. RAMESH

The hero of this paper lived in an age in which Indian pragmatists had come to believe that any prince or adventurer aspiring to found or rule over or supplant a sovereign imperial hegemony should be necessarily armed with the three prerequisites of *prabhu-śakti* (i.e., possession of a crown of authority), *mantra-śakti* (i.e., good counsel) and *utsāha-śakti* (i.e., an inexhaustible spirit of enthusiasm or exertion). Judged from this point of view, Pulakēśin II was a typical product of his times and it may be truly said of him that he was, in respect of his career and personality, moulded by the course and force of his times in shaping which his own contribution was by no means negligible. As a matter of fact the first half of the seventh century A.D. marks an important epoch in the history of India. For, it was during those eventful decades that the idea of sovereign imperialism, put into experiment in the preceding period of the Guptas, Maitrakas, Vākātakas, Kadambas and the Western Gangas, came to be crystallised by the exertions of Harsha in the north, Pulakēśin II in the Deccan and the Pallavas further south. *De facto* sovereignty, or even the wherewithal and stamina to achieve or enforce it, came to be considered as the primary requisite for proclaiming imperial status, more or less exclusively through the rather dubious means of assuming imperial titles and epithets, the limitations in terms of the area under actual control and jurisdiction notwithstanding. In Karnataka itself, with which territory we are presently more closely concerned, beside the Chalukyas of Vātāpi, whose sovereignty and imperial status were by then absolute, the Gangas of Talakāḍu, the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Mauryas of Konkaṇa and the Ālupas of

Āluvakhēḍa were then baking under the often elusive sun of sovereignty, an uneasy and insecure sovereignty which they at times made bold to present in their official records as by itself symbolic of imperial status. Circumstances being much the same elsewhere in the subcontinent during those times, it redounds to the credit of Pulakēśin II and his illustrious contemporaries at Kānyakubja and Kāñchi that, in that atmosphere of compromising politics, they strove hard for and succeeded in further elevating their respective houses to the level of absolute imperialism in terms of both *de facto* and *de jure* sovereignty.

Coming to the arena where the Chalukyas set up the nucleus of their political power, namely Karnataka, we find that, while the ancient house of the Gangas of Talakāḍu, for instance, could only muster a dubious imperial status, the continuance of which depended much upon the toleration of their traditional existence by their more powerful neighbours, the Chalukyas of Vātāpi, by their ceaseless exercises in the battle-fields, had ensured the survival and steady growth of their imperial might which could stand its ground until and unless challenged and toppled by a more militant rival. Into that house of war-lords, their very martial stance advertised by such militant names and epithets as Raṇarāga, Raṇaparākrama, Raṇavikrama and Raṇavikrānta, was born, perhaps in the last decade of the sixth century, our renowned hero who, in the course of over three decades, strode the Deccan and its peripheries like a colossus.

For no fault of his and, perhaps, for no fault of his parents too, Pulakēśin II was born too late for him to have the heavy mantle of emperorship transferred straightaway to his own shoulders from those of his deceased father, Kīrtti-varman I. The onerous burden was, therefore, placed instead on the shoulders of the dead emperor's younger brother, Mangalēśa, who occupied the throne perhaps as a trustee though, for all practical purposes, in full imperial

regalia, and, at least on that solemn occasion, with no ulterior designs of perpetuating his own direct line of successors.

As emperor, Mangalēśa acquitted himself very creditably indeed but, as bad luck would have it, he dared break the trust which, earlier, his dying brother and, later, his ambitious nephew had placed in him. When it became apparent that his uncle Mangalēśa, deigning to place his own progeny on the Vātāpi throne, considered him a *persona-non-grata* within his own kingdom, Eṛeya, for that was Pulakēśin's precoronation name, rose in open rebellion; thus began one of the most colourful careers in Indian history.

In his own inscriptions Mangalēśa is acclaimed as a paragon of justice, for example, *sva-rāshṭre nyāy-ānuvartī*,¹ and the copper-plate charters of the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa aver that Mangalēśa, true to his word, voluntarily stepped down from the throne when Pulakēśin II had come of age. Our most reliable source of information on this point, however, is the Aihole inscription² which contains the unequivocal declaration that Pulakēśin II had to occupy the throne by force and that too not before performing the unpleasant task of putting an end to his own uncle's life.

An almost startling and almost contemporaneous corroboration of this sanguinary incident is to be had from the Peddavaḍugūru Kannada inscription³ which states that Eṛeyatiyaḍigaḷ, having defeated and killed Raṇavikrama in the battle-field called Elpattu-Simbhige in Nāḍanūru- (Nāḍanūroḷ-Raṇavikramanānn-Eṛey-atīy-aḍṭṭgaḷḷ- Elpattu- Sīmbhige-kolgoḷāduḷvīḷe eṛidu geldu), he summoned to his presence the *mahājanas* of that village and bade them choose some land for their livelihood. They, in their turn, begged Eṛeya to grant them, free of all encumbrances, the village of Nāḍanūru itself; he not only obliged them but also granted to them the income from the *ponnatere* levied and collected in the *agrahāras* situated in the district (*vishaya*) of the

Bāṇa ruler. The preamble on top of the text introduces the above grants as the *datti* of Satyāśrayaśrī-Prithvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Bhaṭāra which helps us identify the donor Eṇṇey-atiyaḍigaḷ with Pulakēśin II, an identification further supported by the reference to this emperor as Eṇṇeyamma in a tenth century rendering of one of Pulakēśin II's inscriptions at Lakshmēśvara.⁴

The real importance of the Peddavaḍugūru inscription hinges round the identification of Eṇṇeyatiyaḍigaḷ's adversary, Raṇavikrama. Mangalēśa is known to have had the favourite epithet of Raṇavikrānta, which in essence is the same as Raṇavikrama. It is, therefore, almost certain that the inscription in question has a direct bearing on the battle for the throne waged by Pulakēśin II against Mangalēśa. The ascription of the epithet *Raṇavikrama* to Pulakēśin II in his Lohaner plates⁵ (*sva-bhuja-bala-labdha-Raṇavikramākhyah*), in all probability, commemorates Pulakēśin's triumph over Raṇavikrama-Mangalēśa.

With the offering of the above interpretation of the Peddavaḍugūru epigraph, the following new facts emerge with reference to Pulakēśin II's early life, namely,

that, when his uncle turned inimical towards him, the prince Eṇṇeya retreated to the Bāṇa domain whose ruler was, in all probability, well-disposed towards him;

that, encamped in the safety of the Bāṇa ruler's protection, Eṇṇeya, armed though he was with only the *utsāha* and *mantra śaktis*, declared himself as at war with Mangalēśa who was then *śakti-traya-sampanna*, i.e., endowed with the third additional and all-important weapon of *prabhu-śakti*;

that, provoked by the rebellious act of his nephew, the trustee-turned-usurper Mangalēśa invaded the Bāṇa territory and gave battle to Eṇṇeya at Elpattu-Simblhige;

that, the battle went in favour of Eṛeya who, after putting his uncle to the sword, betook the imperial identity of Satyāśraya-śrī-Prithvīvallabha - Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Bhaṭāra, thereby making his own the *prabhu-śakti* which Mangalēśa had tried in vain to pass on to his own descendant.

As did commonly happen at such times of confusion, feudatories, opportunists and adventurers all over the empire, who grossly underestimated the intrinsic worth and prowess of the fresh incumbent on the imperial throne, the youthful Pulakēśin II, rose in rebellion and the imperial authority of the Chalukyas was momentarily shaken to its very foundations for the first, though not the last, time. Nearer the capital, Pulakēśin II was forced to test his strength once against two rather mysterious adversaries, Āppāyika and Gōvinda. The identity of these twin-challengers is by no means certain. They were, perhaps, loyal adherents of the vanquished Mangalēśa. It is even possible that at least one of them, if not both, was Mangalēśa's son. Pulakēśin chased and defeated them north of the river Bhīmā, Āppāyika getting utterly routed and Gōvinda seeking and securing Pulakēśin's protection. Thus ended the only serious challenge to Pulakēśin's claim to the imperial throne and he was thenceforward left free to restore the shaken glories of his empire.

Once left without a rival claimant for his hard-earned inheritance, the redoubtable Pulakēśin II does not appear to have lost much time in planning and implementing a series of military campaigns, those on the home ground meant to bolster up his own real aura and those outside calculated to re-establish in full measure the sovereign imperial authority of the Chalukyas. His friend and court-poet Ravikīrtti is again the only available source of information on which some sort of a probable sequence of Pulakēśin II's military expeditions can be drawn. From a study of Ravikīrtti's Aihole inscription, it is indeed possible to deduce

that the victories of his master are therein narrated in their topographical sequence, though no tangible clue can be found as to the chronological succession of those events. All that we can say with a certain amount of conviction is that the Aihole inscription implies that Pulakēśin's conquests were carried out at four different levels, two of them in the early years of his reign and the other two, nearly fifteen years later, all of them contributing to a steady and successive improvement in his stature as one of the leading emperors of the subcontinent:—

1. Campaign against recalcitrant feudatory rulers of Karnataka;
2. Campaigns to the north-west of his empire and his conflict with Harsha;
3. Campaigns to the north-east and east of his empire; and
4. Campaigns to the south of his empire.

In the confusion created by the civil war, the Gangas of Talakāḍu, the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Ālupas of Āluvakhēḍa and the Mauryas of Konkāṇa, whose dubious sovereign status had earlier been reduced to the level of subordination by Kīrtivarman I, withdrew their allegiance and, no sooner than he had wrested the imperial throne and ward off the danger posed by Āppāyika and Gōvinda, Pulakēśin II marched against these kingdoms and successfully brought them back into the imperial fold.

Egged on by the desire to expand the sphere of his *chakravartti-kshētra*, he next turned his attention northwards. And he appears to have subdued the rulers of Lāṭa, Mālava and Gūrjara, who probably preferred a distant master to the dreaded and overwhelming might of Harsha, by a mere show of force. But Pulakēśin's newly earned hegemony over these kingdoms must have been viewed by Harsha as punishable intrusions into his own preserve. There ensued,

therefore, predictably enough, and indecisive conflict between Pulakēśin II and Harsha the only tangible outcome of which was that the 'Lord of the Uttarāpatha' and the 'Lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha' decided to leave each other alone.

There are reasons to believe that all the above military exploits of Pulakēśin II, from the time of his accession to the battle he fought against Harsha, took place in the initial years of his reign. The Hyderabad plates, dated in his third regnal year describe him as *samara-śata-saṅghaṭṭa-saṁsakta-paranripati - parājay - ōpalabdha - Paramēśvar - āpara nāma dhēyaḥ*, testifying not only to the fact that he had by then fought numerous battles but to the fact that he had by then earned the secondary name of *Paramēśvara* which, in the records of his immediate successors, is, more often than not, specifically attributed to his victory over Harsha—*samara-saṁsakta-sakal - Ōttarāpathēśvara-śrī - Harshavardhana-parājay-Ōpātta-Paramēśvar-āpara-nāmadhēyaḥ*. That after his conflict with Harsha, Pulakēśin II cried halt to his war-like pursuits is clearly implied by Ravikīrtti's allusion, at this point of his narration, to Pulakēśin's prosperous reign and his accomplished lordship over the three *mahārāshṭrakas* before the poet once again reverts to the subject of his master's military exertions by describing the subjugation of the Kōśala and Kalinga rulers. And from other available indirect epigraphical evidences, which will be discussed below, we may conclude that this peaceful interlude lasted for nearly fifteen years.

As per Ravikīrtti's itinerary, Pulakēśin's next fields of action lay in the Kōśala and Kalinga countries. While the rulers of these two kingdoms appear to have been subdued by the very fact of his greatness and martial prowess, the subjugation and capture of the fort of Piśṭapura and the conquest of the Kauṇāla region needed much exertion on his part.

The narrative in the Aihole inscription gives raise to the belief that Pulakēśin's southward thrust was in continuation of his north-eastern and eastern campaigns. He invaded the Pallava empire in force and is credited with having driven the defending Pallava emperor into the safe confines of the Kāñchi fort. He marched his forces further deep and made the Pallavas appear weak and helpless in the eyes of their gleeful Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa contemporaries.

Having thus humiliated the Pallavas, Ravikīrtti tells us, Pulakēśin II, the conqueror of all the quarters, triumphantly re-entered Vātāpi and was, in 634-35 A.D., the date of the Aihole inscription, administering his vast empire in peace.

As I have stated above, one conclusion that may be reasonably drawn from Ravikīrtti's diction is that the subjugation of the Kōśala, Kalinga, Pishṭapura and Kauṇāla tracts and his victorious march into the Tamil country were only two continuous stages of a single campaign. The dates and other details pertaining to Pulakēśin II's Andhra and Pallava expeditions have for long remained subjects of controversy and, without meaning to add to the confusion in the least, I venture to place before this learned audience, with all the difference I can summon, what I prefer to call a tentative yet critical re-appraisal of Pulakēśin's incursions into the Andhra and Pallava domains.

It is held, for no valid reason, by almost all historians who have written on the subject, that Pulakēśin II had twice invaded the Pallava empire, once during the reign of Mahēndravarmān I (600-30 A.D.) and again during the reign of the latter's son Narasiṃhavarman I (630-68 A.D.). According to them, the Pallava emperor who shut himself up within the Kāñchi fort in order to escape the wrath of Pulakēśin II is to be identified with Mahēndravarmān I who, they say, bore the brunt of the so-called first expedition; and

they hold the view that the battles of Maṇimangala, Pariyaḷa and Sūramāra, in which Narasimhavarman I claims to have defeated Pulakēśin II, were fought during the latter's second invasion whereby he invited upon himself and his empire a terrible retribution in the form of a retaliatory and destructive Pallava invasion. The only justification for this theory, a flimsy one at that, offered by historians is a rather general and vague claim made for Mahēndravarmān I, in the Kaśākkuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, that he had defeated all his enemies in a battle fought at Puḷḷalūr, a place very close to Kāñchīpuram. Their argument that no ruler, other than Pulakēśin II, was powerful enough to penetrate the Pallava defences and offer battle in the vicinity of Kāñchīpuram is, to say the least, presumptuous.

On the other hand, applying the rule of *sāmīpy-ānvaya* to the narrative sequence of the Aihole inscription, we do find that Pulakēśin II's Pallava expedition, in which he forced the Pallava emperor to seek refuge within the walls of the Kāñchī fort, could not have taken place long before 634–35 A.D., when Pulakēśin II, after his triumphant re-entry into Vātāpi, was administering his empire in peace. The Aihole inscription, as a matter of fact, refers to Pulakēśin's Pallava conquest and his re-entry into Vātāpi in the following two successive stanzas:—

Chōḷa-Kēraḷa-Pāṇḍyānām yō=bhūt-tatra maharddhayē |

Pallav-ānika-nihāra tuhin-ētara-dīdhitih ||

*Utsāha-prabhu-mantra-śakti-sahitē yasmin-samastā diśō
jītvā bhāmi-patīn-visrījya-mahitān-ārādhyā dēva-dvijān |*

*Vātāpīm nagarīm praviśya nagarīm-ēkam-iv-ōryīm-imām
chañchan-nīradhī-nīla-nīra-parikhām Satyāśrayē śāsati ||*

On the strength of the above evidence I would like to put forth, in all humility, my view that Pulakēśin II invaded the Pallava country only once, and that too not long before

634-65 A.D., the date of the Aihole inscription, not during the reign of Mahēndravarman I but when his son Narasimhavarman I was still a fresh incumbent on the Pallava throne and that Pulakēśin II successfully led his forces upto the Pallava capital and forced the inexperienced defender to shut himself up inside the fort. The battle of Maṇimaṅgala, in which victory is claimed for the Pallavas by the Pallavas, (and Maṇimaṅgala is a place not far removed from Kāñchī), must have been one of the less futile attempts of Narasimhavarman to ward off the danger of complete capitulation to the invading Chalukya forces.

We may, therefore, tentatively consider Pulakēśin II's siege of Kāñchī as having taken place in 632-33 A.D. and this leads us to the problem of dating his military presence in the Andhra country. The Koppāram plates⁶ of Pulakēśin II, issued in October, 631 A.D., while stating that Vishṇuvardhana had secured the hereditary possession of the throne of the Andhra country, still refer to him as *Prithvīyuvārāja*, making it quite clear that the subjugation of the Andhra region was at that time a fresh achievement. On the other hand, taking the date of the Mārūturu grant, discovered not long ago and issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse in Jyēshṭha in the eighth year of the reign of Satyāśraya-Prithvīvallabha, who is stated therein to have just then captured Pishṭapura, to fall in May, 616 A.D., one scholar has opined⁸ that Pishṭapura and therefore, the Andhra country had been conquered by Pulakēśin II as early as in May, 616 A.D. But, as I have shown elsewhere,⁹ the Mārūturu grant should properly be assigned to the reign of Vikramāditya I and hence should be taken to provide evidence of the fact that, in the course of re-establishing Chalukya hegemony after putting an end to the anarchy which had set in at the violent end of Pulakēśin II, his enterprising son Vikramāditya I had recaptured Pishṭapura in May, 663 A.D. Pulakēśin II's Andhra and Pallava expeditions should, herefore, be deemed to have taken place between the

years 630 and 634 A.D. as is borne out by the Koppāram plates and the Aihole inscription.

Being no less than Pulakēśin II in grit and martial spirit, Narasimhavarman I was stung to the deep by the successful invasion carried out by the former and must have bided his time for wreaking vengeance. After over a decade of careful preparations, he marched his forces against Pulakēśin II whose turn it was now to try to prevent total capitulation. Two bloody battles fought at Pariyaḷa in the Kurnool and Sūramāra in the Anantapur regions went against the Chalukyas and the victorious Narasimhavarman did a more thorough job of his expedition, than Pulakēśin II, by reducing and taking Vātāpi and also, perhaps, by putting an end to the life of his arch-enemy.

Apart from the fact that we are separated from Pulakēśin II by thirteen long and eventful centuries, the rather shocking and bloody manner of his accession, the hectic and prolonged military expeditions he led and the mysterious end he met—with all these would have added an aura of unique romance to his personality had it not been for the fact that the virtues and vices he manifested are also to be found, in equal measures, in the personalities of his illustrious imperial contemporaries on the Indian scene. In short, if Pulakēśin II was an extraordinary man and ruler, and he certainly was such, so were his imperial Indian contemporaries. And there lies the difficulty in trying to assess the personality and character of a man who, by his postures, deeds and achievements, had so totally emerged with the imperial image of his times.

If an objective researcher is asked to portray on the wide canvas of history the personality of Pulakēśin II in all its dimensions, what features characteristic of that human colossus should he transfuse from his knowledge into that portrait? If we are to believe all the praises that are showered upon him by his contemporaries and successors,

we cannot but conclude that, in his own way, Pulakēśin II too was a bundle of contradictions, those very contradictions contributing to his greatness as an emperor. In an objective portrayal, should his face betray the sense of forlorn despair losing his imperial legacy, or, should it reflect the grit and determination with which he gained the throne and then entered field after field of battle, at the head of his infantry, cavalry and elephant corps, playing havoc in the enemy ranks ? Should his eyes shine with the glint of hope which he must have entertained, of conquering all the quarters, when he was piling victory upon victory, or, should they be blurred by the despair and agony he must have felt at the moment of his final defeat when the entire superstructure of the vast empire he had fought to build tumbled down before his weary eyes ? Should his hand be depicted as carrying the sword stained with the blood of his own uncle and innumerable other victims, or, should it be shown pouring the waters of libation for the many munificent grants he had made ? Pulakēśin II was in fact a man of many parts—the refuge of truth (*Satyāśrayaḥ*), the lord of the earth (*Prithvī vallabhah*), the supreme lord (*Paramēśvaraḥ*), a king (*Mahārājaḥ*), king of kings (*Mahārājādhirājaḥ*), a chastiser of powerful enemy kings (*pradhvasta-prabala-śatru-mahimā*), propitiated by lesser powers (*pratāpātīśay-ōpanata-samāgra-sāmanta-maṇḍalāḥ*), destroyer of the wicked (*nigrihīta-duṣṭa-janāḥ*), patron of the learned (*parigrihīta-vidvat-sakhāḥ*), benevolent to his servants (*anugrihīta-bhṛitya-vargah*), well-served by his legions (*bhṛitya-labdha-prasādaḥ*), of unquestioned authority (*apratihatajnah*), an abode of all virtues (*sarva-sadguṇāśrayaḥ*), a great devotee of the lord Viṣṇu (*parama-bhāgavataḥ*), a servant of the gods, *brāhmaṇas* and teachers (*dēva-dvija-guru-suśrūṣa-parah*), Lord of the entire Deccan (*Dakṣiṇāpatha-prithivyāḥ svāmī*) and, because of all these and many other laudable qualities, lofty as the Himalayas (*Himāchal-ānukārī*). If I am asked to do the impossible, namely to portray in all its dimensions,

the personality of Pulakēśin II, I can do no better than borrow the following words of his 12th century admirers:

*Jētur-ddiśām vijita-Harṣa-mahānṛipasya
dātur-manōratha-śāt-ādhikam-arthayadbhyaḥ |
saty-ādi-sarva-guṇa-ratna-gaṇ-ākaraśya
Satyāśrayatvam-upalakṣaṇam-ēva-yasya ||*

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THE PALLAVA INTERREGNUM

(642-654/55 A.D.)

MADHAV N. KATTI

The Chalukya rule extended over a large part of South India and Deccan by the prowess of the great emperor Pulakēśin II, had to come to a temporary stop for a period of about thirteen years until once again his son Vikramāditya I re-established the supremacy of this dynasty in 654-55 A.D. Pallava Narasimhavarman I (630-668 A.D.) who took revenge against Pulakēśin's earlier victory over the kingdom during his father's reign, defeated Pulakēśin in a dreaded battle at Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala and Sūramāra and has left his own inscription dated in the 13th year of his reign on the rock of Vātāpi symbolising the word 'victory' written on the back of Pulakēśin II.¹ Though Vikramāditya re-established his supremacy within thirteen years, he had to almost build up his empire from the scrap as the inscriptions tell so eloquently. The Talamañchi and Gadval plates² of this king picturesquely portray that Vikramāditya fought with valour a number of battles, tasted the blood of several enemy kings, defeated many rulers in different directions, seized the ancestral kingdom eclipsed by the three kings, regained the hereditary royal glory and proclaimed himself the supreme lord (of the kingdom).

Pratāp-ānīka-samara-mukhēshu ripu-nṛipati-rudhira-jalās-vādana-rasanāya svaguroś-riyam-avanipati-tritayāntarītā-mātmasāt kritya-raṇa-śirasi ripu-narēndrān diśi diśi jītvā svavaṁśajām Lakshmīm (i.e., Chalukya-rājya-Lakshmīm) prāpya cha paramēśvaratām.

He thus proved as the worthy great grandson of Vallabhēśvara (Pulakēśin I) and the worthy and affectionate son

of Pulakēśin II, who had not in vain installed the *Chalukya rājya-Lakshmi* in the heart of Karnataka and adored and glorified her.

The historical evidences of this period indicate that the three kings referred to above were the Pāṇḍyas, Chōlas and Kēraḷas,³ who must have helped Narasimhavarman in the conquest of Vātāpi. Some scholars hold the view that Vikramāditya conquered the kingdom not only by fighting against Narasimhavarman but also against his own brothers who had declared their independence during this inter-regnum.⁴ That he fought against his own brothers cannot be accepted as in no inscription there is a reference to any conflict between Vikramāditya and his brothers.

It is known from the inscriptions that Vikramāditya had four brothers, viz., Ādityavarma, Chandrāditya, Raṇa-rāgavarma and Jayasimha.⁵ Of these, the first two were known to be his elder brothers. Ādityavarman is known to have ruled the Kurnool region along with parts of Bellary and Chitradurga Districts in a paramount capacity.⁶ Chandrāditya appears to have ruled the Sāvantavāḍi area almost in the same capacity as is clear from the paramount titles applied to him in the Kochrēm grant (of Vijayamahādēvi).⁷ However, since the grant gives Vikramāditya the same titles as the Talamañchi and Gadval plates referred to above, viz., *raṇa śirasi . . . paramēśvaratām* and calls Chandrāditya as *Chandrādityaśrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja*, it becomes very clear that Vikramāditya's suzerainty over the entire Chalukyan kingdom was indisputably recognized, though Vikramāditya in his turn seems to have given full freedom to his elder brother Chandrāditya to rule in a paramount capacity, or recognized Chandrāditya's absolute authority over the territory under him. By this, it can be said that Vikramāditya was recognized as the supreme over-lord of the entire empire and his brothers had accepted him as such, while themselves enjoying almost a sovereign status. This only indicates that there was a perfect understanding amongst

Vikramāditya and his brothers and so there was no question of Vikramāditya securing the kingdom by fighting against his brothers. So far we do not have any information about the rule of Raṇarāgavarma. The fourth brother Jayasīmha was governing Gujarat, under the patronage of Vikramāditya as he seems to be much indebted to him (*vide* the expression—*jyāyasā bhrātrā samabhivardhita-vibhūtiḥ*).⁸

The above discussion would show that every prince of the Chalukyan family contributed his might in re-establishing the Chalukyan supremacy over the kingdom. It is even possible that the elder brothers of Vikramāditya ascended the throne immediately after the disappearance of Pula-kēśin from the political scene and once it fell on Vikramāditya to make every effort in the direction of building up the Chalukya force to overthrow the Pallavas, even the other princes of this family and some of their loyal feudatories also assisted Vikramāditya in this mighty task.⁹ We have to examine the sovereign status claimed by the brothers of Vikramāditya in the light of these events and then only it will be clear how Vikramāditya could ultimately put down the mighty Pallava power. It will not be wrong to presume that though Narasimhavarman conquered the Chalukyan kingdom, being far away at Kāñchī, he would never have had the grip in the day-to-day administration over this annexed territory and it was this factor which helped Vikramāditya to muster strength and ultimately seize the kingdom once again to place it on a firm footing by his extraordinary valour and organizational capacity. In a way it can be said that it is on account of the pangs suffered during this period that the glory of this dynasty, firmly reinstalled by Vikramāditya's untiring zeal and bravery, reached gradually an unparalleled height by the time of Vikramāditya II, the last colossus of this family, who has left his own indelible mark of victory at Kāñchī¹⁰ as if to give a fitting reply to Narasimhavarman's act of bravery.

Though we have no elaborate account of the different kings or feudatories who did not accept the Pallava suzerainty and exercised their own political power during this period, a few inscriptions furnish some interesting information about the events that took place in the Chalukyan kingdom during this period of eclipse. Of these, the first two are quite well known.

The Khaira grant¹¹ of Vijayarāja or Vijayavarmarāja, son of Buddhavarma and grandson of Jayasimharāja, dated in the Kalachuri-Chēdi year 394 (expired), full moon day of the month of Vaiśākha and corresponding to 643 A.D. April 9, does not make any reference to the paramount line of the Chalukyas. Fleet, while placing the fall of Badāmi before the date of this inscription, has rightly stated that the omission in the inscription to indicate the relationship or to make any reference to the paramount line, seems a plain indication that when the charter was issued, the latter had experienced a disaster, and that the Chalukyas of Gujarat, while not exactly prepared to assert independence, were in doubt as to what supreme authority they should recognize.¹² This only further indicates that the Chalukyas of Gujarat could never agree to recognize the Pallavas as their overlords.

The Bāgumra grant of *Prithivī (thvī) vallabha-Nikumbhal-lasakti*¹³ of the Sēndraka family, made on the new moon day of the month of Bhādrapada, in the (Kalachuri) year 406 (expired) and corresponding approximately to 8th August 655 A.D., does not make a mention of any paramount ruler, though no sovereign titles are assumed by this Sēndraka chief. Fleet places the formal commencement of the reign of Vikramāditya, somewhere in the autumn of the year 655 A.D., while N. L. Rao and Panchamukhi point out that his coronation took place between July 655 and September 654.¹⁴ In the absence of any direct inscriptional reference regarding the coronation of Vikramāditya or of a record

dated in the first year of his reign, the fact that this inscription does not mention any paramount ruler can only be taken to mean that the Sēndrakas started referring to the Chalukyan overlords only after the date of this record and it can be said that it took sometime for Vikramāditya to stabilize himself and spread his powers in different distant provinces of his empire. Though Nikumbhallaśukti, we can surmise, would have too happily recognized the established suzerainty of Vikramāditya I, being in a distant territory he may have awaited the spread of his stable political power.

The Nelkunda grant of Abhinavāditya,¹⁵ son of Ādityavarma is of immense historical significance for this period. The charter refers itself to the *rājya-samvatsara* of Abhinavāditya and is dated on the full moon day of the month of Bhādrapada; but the other details of date are not specified. This being the first and the only inscription of Abhinavāditya discovered so far, in the absence of other details of his rule, we have only to content ourselves with having one more Chalukya prince who ruled in a sovereign capacity. The inscription refers to him as *Śrīmad-Abhinavāditya-āparanāmadhēyah śrīsatyāśraya-prithvī-vallabhamahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ* and as the son of *śrīmad-Ādityavarmaprithvīvallabhamahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara* and states that on the date of the record he issued an order announcing the gift of the village Nelkunda situated in *Uchchaśringi-vishaya* to the *brāhmaṇa* Kuppasārman. As the only time when there is a possibility of having a hitherto unknown paramount ruler in the 7th century is within this interval of thirteen years, that this grant has to be assigned to this period is an absolute necessity. This record indicates that Ādityavarma ruled this area in a sovereign capacity, and was succeeded by his son Abhinavāditya. It is interesting to notice here that Abhinavāditya calls himself *Satyāśraya* and *Paramēśvara* like his grand father Pulakéśin II.

We have four inscriptions engraved on the rock of Badāmi assignable paleographically to about the 7th century

A.D.¹⁶ The first two of these inscriptions read: *śrī-Bhīmaśatti*, the third reads: *śrī-Bhīmaśatti-sēndrakan* and the fourth reads: *śrī-Satyāśraya-padayugakke-bhaktan-Bhīmaśatti*.

In the above inscriptions the super-script 'tti' is used for 'kti' and it is obvious that the name of the chief is *Bhīmaśakti* and he belonged to the *Sēndraka* family. Dr. Gai has identified this *Satyāśraya* with *Pulakēśin II*.¹⁷ Since the four inscriptions belong to the 7th century A.D., it is possible that *Bhīmaśakti* was a governor under *Pulakēśin* and even in the subsequent period.

An undated inscription from *Sirguppi* (*Hubli Taluk*, *Dharwar District*), in characters of about the 6th-7th century, refers to *Vāṇasatti-arasa* as governing *Muḷugunda* and mentions a *Kundasatti-arasa*.¹⁸ From these names ending in *satti*, i.e., *śakti*, we can safely arrive at the conclusion that both these chiefs belonged to the *Sēndraka* family. Taking into account the palaeographical dating of this inscription, it will not be out of place to presume that these chiefs may have lived even during this period of the *Pallava interregnum*.

Lastly, we have an inscription from *Araḷihonda*¹ (*Kalghatgi Taluk*, *Dharwar District*) which is not dated but is in characters of about the 7th century A.D., where once again a hitherto unknown sovereign ruler and his feudatory are referred to.²⁰ This inscription to be read from bottom upwards contains the following text:

1. *Piṭṭiamman prithuvi-rājyaṁ-keye*
2. *Kaṇṇaśakti-arasara dātti nālmattal*—[bhū] mi²¹
3. *Ereva Konṇereyangal Koṭṭār*.

The record states that while *Piṭṭiamman* was ruling over the earth, *Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa*'s grant of four *mattar* of land was given away by *Konṇereya*.

I have shown elsewhere²² that Piṭṭiamman could be of the Chalukyan stock itself, the name being a derivative of *Prithivīvarman* and that on account of the palaeographical dating of the inscription and the circumstances prevailing in the Chalukyan kingdom in the middle of the 7th century, this inscription could be placed tentatively in the Pallava-inter-regnum. I presume Piṭṭiamman was another Chalukyan prince who like Vikramāditya I and his brothers wanted to assert his own right as a sovereign ruler of the kingdom and contribute his own mite in re-establishing the Chalukyan supremacy over the land. As no imperial titles are applied to him in the record, it can only be taken to indicate that Piṭṭiamman had proclaimed himself as a paramount ruler of the kingdom just sometime prior to the engraving of the inscription. It is yet to be found out as to whether *Piṭṭiamman* is the name of an already known prince of this dynasty or he is a hitherto unknown scion of the Chalukyan stock. Further discoveries, may solve this riddle. Could any of the sons of Pulakēśin II, including Vikramāditya, have had the name *Piṭṭiamman*? However, this inscription provides a unique evidence of an independent ruler who had not recognised any other overlords and had proclaimed himself a sovereign ruler.

Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa, as discussed elsewhere, belonged to the Sēndraka family.²³ In the whole of the Chalukyan history, we do not come across any Sēndraka chief who did not recognise the suzerainty of an overlord as long as the latter functioned as an established paramount ruler. This inscription thus provides a clue to the fact that Kaṇṇaśakti had emboldened himself to help Piṭṭiamman to assert his own right as a paramount ruler and thus help in re-establishing the Chalukya rule. Konneṇṇeyāṅgal was a subordinate officer of the area under Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa as his place in the record indicates. This inscription is also a pointer to the fact that Piṭṭiamman had a systematic administrative machinery under him.

The Pallava-interregnum thus forms the centre of gravity with about a century earlier and later, reflecting the zeal of the Chalukyan princes on the one hand and indicating their fulfilment on the other, and perhaps it is on account of the short eclipse of the glory of this dynasty that the Chalukyas²⁴ could rule the kingdom in a sovereign capacity for nearly a hundred years more in spite of the incessant tests and trails.

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2. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 98 ff and X, pp. 100 ff.
3. RAO, N. L. and PANCHAMUKHI, R. S., *Op. Cit.*, p. 69.
4. Cf. NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A., *A History of South India* (3rd edition), p. 151 and Desai, P. B., *A History of Karnataka*, p. 101.
5. DESAI, P. B., *Ibid.*, p. 100 and RAO, N. L. and PANCHAMUKHI, R. S., *Op. Cit.*, p. 63.
6. DESAI, P. B., *Op. Cit.*, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 214 ff and *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, pp. 45 ff.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.
9. The above discussion makes this sufficiently clear *vide* also the ensuing discussion on the Arajihonḍa inscription of Piṭṭiamman.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 359 ff.
11. *Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 241 ff.
12. FLEET, J. F., *Op. Cit.*, p. 360.
13. *Ind. Ant.*, XV I, pp. 265.
14. FLEET, J. F., *Op. Cit.*, p. 363 and RAO, N. L., and PANCHAMUKHI, R. S., *Op. Cit.*, p. 72.
15. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 213 ff.
16. *S.I.I.*, XV, No. 417, 442, 441 and 443.
17. *Śrīkanthikā* (Prof. S. Srikantha Sastri Felicitation Volume), p. 110.
18. *A.R. Ep.*, 1933-34, E (B.K.), No. 32.

19. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVII, pp. 333 ff and *Śrīkaṇṭhikā*, pp. 111 ff.
20. *Śrīkaṇṭhikā*, p. 110.
21. The subscript *bh* (in *bhū*) is much wornout and it is possible that it (the subscript) is *n*, in which case the word would be *nela* (*nāl-mattal-nela*). However, there would be no change in the meaning.
22. *Śrīkaṇṭhikā*, p. 112.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113. In case we identify Kaṇṇaśakti of this record with the father of Raviśakti of the Huli Plates of Maṅgaḷaraja (vide *JKU., Social Sciences*, Vol. V, pp. 175 ff.), we can even presume that he was governing the Dharwar area including the findspot Arajihoṇḍa (taking for granted that he was alive at the time of that record), under Piṭṭiamman, though it is difficult to know from the Huli plates whether Kaṇṇaśakti was alive at the time of the record or not. In case we accept this identification regarding Kaṇṇaśakti, we can even hint that Piṭṭiamman was Maṅgaḷeśa himself with this so far unknown name for him. If we go a little further, since Pulakēśin was only a prince when Maṅgaḷeśa was ruling, we can say that Konneṇṇeya was Pulakēśin himself, i.e., prince Pulakēśin. We know that Pulakēśin had the name *Eṇṇeya*, *Eṇṇamma* etc. (Vide the Peddavaḍaguru and Lakshmēśvara Inscriptions; Rao, N. L. and Panchamukhi, R. S., *Op. Cit.*, p. 68; Ramesh, K. V. *Karnāṭaka Śāsana Samikṣhe*, pp. 58 ff and *SII.*, Vol. XX, No. 3). We have to take the word *Konneṇṇeya* as *Kon-Eṇṇeya*, (i.e., prince *Eṇṇeya* i.e., prince Pulakēśin). *Ko* in Tamil means a king, a prince etc. (Rev. Winslow, *Tamil-English Dictionary*, p. 374). My colleague Dr. K. V. Ramesh enlightened me for the first time about the meaning of the word *Ko* and we must presume, in the present inscription, it has the same shade of meaning. But these possibilities are to be considered by us only viewing the fact that this record belongs to the 7th century. However, as long as we do not have any other records giving a more detailed account regarding Piṭṭiamman and other persons mentioned by the present inscription and as the only time in the 7th century when we can come across a hitherto unknown paramount ruler is during the interval after Pulakēśin II and before Vikramāditya I, it is safe to place this record during his period (642-654/55 A.D.).
24. Throughout this paper, I have referred to this dynasty as *Chalukya* (without lengthening the first vowel *ā*) and this I believe is proper as almost all inscriptions of this dynasty mention its name with short *a*. Only in the Gadval plates of Vikramāditya I, the name occurs with longā (i.e., *Chālukya*. see *Ep. Ind.*, X, pp. 100 ff line 36, the first *pāda* of the verse—*Chāluky-ānvaya-jātasya Pallav-ānvaya nāśinah*), which I have found out recently. Dr. Ramesh was the first in the recent years to stress the usage of this dynastic name as *Chalukya* (vide, *Karnāṭaka Śāsana Samikṣhe*, p. 34).

CHALUKYA VIKRAMĀDITYA—I

(654 – 55 to 682 A. D.)

V. SRINIVASAN

War has been the history of mankind. India had not been an exception to this, and south India in particular appears to have always been a cock-pit of Internecine-wars among the various ruling families contending for supremacy over each other.

One such incidence was the Chalukya-Pallava Relations, during this period that has puzzled many scholars. No final word has been said about the triad of kings referred to as "*Trai-Rājya-Pallava*" "*Avanipathitritaya*", although various theories have been put forward. These are no better than ingenious suggestions. The solution to the problem appears to be rather difficult at the present stage of our knowledge.

The mighty king of the Chalukyas—Pulakēśin II who had defeated Harshavardhana and also Pallavas twice himself fell a victim to the Pallava fury. An inscription on a rock behind the temple of Mallikārjuna in Badāmi dated in the 13th regnal year of Narasimhavarman attests to this day the retribution that fell on Pulakēśi II. The enemy occupied Badāmi, and according to the inscriptions of Pallavas, Narasimhavarman destroyed it. This should have occurred in 642.¹

Chalukyan kingdom was dismembered and a large part of it was annexed to the Pallava-dominions.² Whether Pulakēśin II died in the battle or survived for a few more years is not definitely known from any source. Since nothing is heard of him afterwards, it is generally believed that he should have been killed in the battle along with Kubja-Vishnuvardhana.³

Successors of Pulakēśi II

Pulakēśi had four sons.⁴ Āditya Varma, Chandrāditya, Vikramāditya, Dhāraśraya-Jayasimha Varman. The last of them established the Gujarat branch of the Chalukya family.⁵ Chandraditya was ruling over Sāvantavāḍi and Ādityavarman ruled over a district near the confluence of Krishṇā and Tungabhadra.⁶ A daughter of Pulakēśi is also mentioned in the copper plates of Hosur.⁷ Her name is stated as Ambera. According to Mujumdar, Vikramāditya was also ruling in some part of the Chalukyan kingdom before his accession to the throne.⁸ The titles assumed by these brothers as *Mahārājādhirāja* indicates that they should have been independent kings, without a central authority. It is also possible that they should have taken the cudgel against Vikramāditya, since he was considered as Pulakēśi's "*Priyatanaya*"⁹ and as he had received the dignity of heir apparent before ascending the throne.¹⁰ One more elder brother of Vikramāditya is also mentioned, namely, Raṇarāga Varma.¹¹ It is possible that he might have been the same as Chandrāditya.¹² Pulakēśin II himself had appointed his sons as Viceroys.¹³

We do not know for certain how long the Pallavas exercised their sway over Badāmi. What these various sons of Pulakēśi did, in getting rid of Pallavas? But neither conquest nor annexation was intended by the invader except punishment.¹⁴ It is believed that Chalukya throne remained vacant during A.D. 642 to 655. Apparently Pallavas were not in occupation of the entire Chalukya kingdom. But there were several claimants to the throne although none of them succeeded.

Thirteen years after this Pallava interregnum in Chalukya history emerges Vikramāditya I as if from obscurity in 655 A.D.¹⁵ He was a great soldier like his father and a talented organiser whose administration lasted for more than two and a half-decades. He bore the title "*Satyāśraya Śrī Prithivīvallaba Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*"

(as seen from the Talamañchi Plates)¹⁶ and Śrīvallabha¹⁷. The latter appears to have been used only by Vikramāditya I.¹⁸ He was well versed in politics¹⁹ of the day and clearly understood the task ahead of him. He was well educated under the guidance of his preceptor Mēghāchārya who was learned in the Vedas with their Aṅgas and Upa-aṅgas and he had received considerable amount of administrative training as a Viceroy under Pulakēśi II.²⁰

Vikramāditya's immediate concern was to retrieve the fortunes of his father²¹ liberate the country from the foreign yoke, the Pallavas who had concealed the royalty of his father and re-establish the orderly government and restore the confidence of the people. In this venture he was helped by his horse *Chitrakaṇṭha* and his companion was his sword alone.²² It is also stated in his Talamañchi Plates that he had many wounds concealed under his armour. He should have considered them trivial. But there is no reference to any kind of help that he should have received from his brothers. Vikramāditya's son and grandson Vijayāditya rendered laudable services as seen from the inscriptions. On the basis of an inscription, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that Ganga Durvīṇta, grandfather of Vikramāditya I helped him in restoring the kingdom.²³ He also gives the following reasons for the help rendered by him, viz., interest in his widowed daughter and her son; hostility to Pallavas who had destroyed his son-in-law and his kingdom and loyalty to the suzerain power, Chalukyas.²⁴ R. S. Panchamukhi does not accept this stand,²⁵ taking into consideration the unlikely time gap between Durvīṇta and Vikramāditya I. This contention is not tenable since there are instances of kings who have lead their armies in the battles at an advanced age of 96 years as in the case of Rāmarāya in the battle of Tālikōṭa. Dhāraśraya Jayasimha Varman was his only brother who assisted him. He must also have received allegiance and considerable help from the Bāṇas²⁶ and Sēndrakas²⁷ who were his feudatories.

In restoring the kingdom to its original greatness Vikramāditya I had to fight against his own kinsmen and against the foreign intruders as indicated in the Kurnool Plates. It contains the following lines: '*Svagurōs-Śriyaṇi*' and '*Svavarīśajām-Lakshmīm*'. It means the former was his patrimony from which his relations sought to shut him out, the latter meaning the right to Empire which belonged to Chalukya dynasty,²⁸ both of which were upheld by Vikramāditya engaging in wars against king after king and country after country. However, Panchamukhi writes that there are no evidences to say about the succession dispute between Vikramāditya and his brothers. But this can be explained by referring to the Kurnool Plates which contain a significant variation in the description of Vikramāditya's activities before his accession, i.e., "*Chitrakaṇṭhākya-Divyāśvēna—Sarvān-Dāyādān Vijitya*"²⁹? (*Jita*) *Sakala mahāmaṇḍalādhirājyo*". It suggests that Vikramāditya's opponents were his own relatives (*dāyādās*) or at least his relatives were among his opponents. Another circumstantial evidence that can be adduced to substantiate this is that his relatives did not assist him in freeing the Chālukyan kingdom from the enemies which is indirectly evidenced in many inscriptions and conspicuous by the absence of any such inscriptions to the contrary. Naturally the question arises as to why they³⁰ did not assist him? It is obvious that there was no love lost between them or lack of patriotism or their self-centred interests were predominant. Therefore, before the capture of the Chalukyan throne by Vikramāditya, a number of struggles should have preceded³¹ and he should have been victorious in all of them.

Next the inscriptions declare that Vikramāditya had to wrest the kingdom from a confederacy of three kings. Actual words used in the inscriptions in this context are "*Avanipati-Tritaya*", "*Trairājya-Pallava*" and "*Trairājya Kāñchi—pati*". Dr. N. Venkataramanayya writes that these words mean one and the same confederacy.³² R. S. Panchamukhi

views them differently.³³ Mallampalli Somasekharasarma, Jouveau Dubrevil, and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri have also given expression to their scholarly views. Before going to the conflict itself, it is necessary to understand what these different words mean. Is there any definite evidence to show that all of them mean the same confederacy? If that had been the case why such different words are used to mean the same point. It is improbable that they mean the same point. And evidently those scholars are not unanimous in their opinion about it. Therefore, it is necessary to keep it open for further reconsideration.

Avanipati Tritaya has nothing to do with *Trairājya*³⁴. *Avanipati tritaya* is said to mean the confederacy of three kings. Then the word *Avanipati-Traya* would have been very clear but the meaning offered to *tritaya* as *traya* needs careful examination. It is possible that a typographical error could have crept in for *tritīya* as *tritaya*. Then the controversy becomes clearer and it will mean an *Avanipati* who is the third. Who could be this *tritīya Avanipati*? Since no specific reference is made in the Chalukyan inscriptions, it is natural to consider him as one among themselves. Perhaps he was one of the brothers of Vikramāditya himself. Who that brother was cannot be definitely stated. Thus he got the 'Svagurōś-Śriyam' by overwhelming the *Dāyādās* as mentioned in the Kurnool Plates. As the details about this are not forth coming it could be left at this.

Chalukya-Pallava Conflict

Inscriptional evidence, although clear about the Chalukya-Pallava conflict during the period of Vikramāditya, is conflicting in as much as each claims the victory over the other. F. Heras pointed out that they meant two different campaigns at different dates.³⁵ But the circumstances are such that it must be acknowledged that they refer only to two different phases of the same campaign.³⁶

Dhārāśraya mentions only one achievement of Vikramāditya, viz, the subjugation of the Pallavas (Navsari Plates). From the manner in which the inscription reads, it is opined that the event was actually in progress at the time of the grant. It is further strengthened by the Hosur Plates³⁷ which state that he was in a large military camp in Malliyūr to the west of Kāñchīpuram during 670-71 A.D. At that time Kāñchī had not yet been captured.³⁸

The Gadwal Plates 670-74 A.D., of Vikramāditya give us the chronological account of his eastern campaign. First of all the capture of Kāñhī is noted. Then at the time of making this grant he was encamped at Urāgapura in the Chōḷika province.³⁹ Urāgapura in the Chōḷika province cannot be any other place but Uraiyur, the ancient capital of the Cholas, near Trichinopoly.⁴⁰ Then Pallava records speak of the Chalukyan defeat at Peruvalanallūr, a village in Lālguḍi Taluk, in Trichinopoly District.⁴¹ It is possible that at the time of issuing the Gadwal Plates, he had not suffered any defeat.

Giving an account of the capture of Kāñchī, Heras writes that Paramēśvaravarman's army advanced and checked the progress of Vikramāditya whose army (if we trust the Kuram Plates) consisted of several lakhs. Probably the Pallava army did not go far from the capital according to the custom. Yet Pallavas were defeated. Such a defeat preceded the capture of Kāñchī as evidenced by the Sorab grant which reveals that Vikramāditya received the city of Kāñchīpura immediately after defeating the lord of the Pallavas, while Gadwal Plates aver that Vikrama defeating Iśvarapōtarāja seized Kāñchī. Paramēśvaravarman escaped and probably retired to Andhradesa. Chalukyas crossed the whole Pallava kingdom and camped at Urāgapura in the Chola dominions from where the Gadwal Plates were issued. This did not mean an irretrievable catastrophe to the Pallavas except that the work at the monoliths ended as a result of this war.⁴²

Paramēśvaravarman I, who escaped to Andhradesa does not seem to have been persued by the Chalukyan army since Vikramāditya is found at Urāgapura after the capture of Kāñchī. At Badāmi in the absence of Vikramāditya, his son Vinayāditya and grandson Vijayāditya were maintaining peace.⁴³ Vinayāditya is also said to have waged a war against the Pallavas and assisted his father.⁴⁴ This indicates that the conquest of Kāñchī was not decisive and Vinayāditya should have fought against the Pallavas away from Kāñchī. Therefore, it leads us to believe that the Pallava chief in Andhradesa should have revived the confederacy among the other Pallava rulers as established by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.⁴⁵ This could be further strengthened in the light of a *Vīragal* found at Hirēmadhure in Challakere Hobli⁴⁶ which records "while.....arasar Vikramāditya was capturing Kāñchī Śrī Dāsiamman, servant of a certain Konguṇi arasar pierced and died.....". This appears to refer to a battle between the Chalukyan princes and a confederacy of the Pallava chiefs headed by the Kāñchīpati. It might have ended in favour of the Chalukyas.

However, Paramēśvaravarman had not yet been thoroughly vanquished as the Pallava records claim to have defeated Vikramāditya shortly afterwards. Possibly the Chalukyas did not guess that Pallavas would organise themselves so soon to wreak their vengeance and they were resting on their temporary victory while a surprise attack should have been delivered on Chalukyas at Paruvelanallūr.⁴⁷

Battle of Paruvelanallūr

Paramēśvaravarman made decisive preparations for an attack on the Chalukyan king. He was not aided by any other king in this venture. Kuram Plates describe the Pallava army on the occasion.⁴⁸ They record that "the disc of the sun was caused to assume the likeness of the circle of the moon through the mist of the dust, that was produced by the marching of countless troops of men, horses

and elephants which was terrible through the thunder like sound of drums which teamed with unsheathed swords that resembled flashes of lightening, in which elephants were moving like clouds, and which resembled an unseasonable appearance of the rainy season, in which tall horses looked like billows, in which elephants caused distress on their path just as sea monsters produce whirl pools in which conches were incessantly blown, and which resembled the gaping ocean, which was full of swords and shields just as of rhinoceroses, creepers and Varna (trees) which was crowded with heros who possessed bows and mighty elephants, as it is were crowded with grass and with sundry kinds of trees in which confused noises were raised and which appeared to be a forest".

Vikramāditya did not fail to offer a battle to the Pallava king. But he was unsuccessful. It is evidenced by Kuram, Veļur Paliyam and Udayendiram⁴⁹ Plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, Nandivarman III and Nandivarman Pallavamalla respectively. Kuram Plates further explain that Vikramāditya unaided took to flight covered only by a rag. Although it is said to have been used as a poetical hyperbole by Heras, yet he accepts that the whole Chalukyan camp was looted and the army headed by the king were forced to retire to their own country with only the dress and arms⁵⁰ and that he was forced to give up his southern conquests.⁵¹ It is also believed that Badāmi itself was captured by the Pallava general Paranjōti Siruttoṇḍar who is said to have brought much booty from Badāmi.⁵² This could be a second time of attack sent by Pallavas to Badāmi. P. B. Desai considers it a fiction⁵³ but Vijayāditya possibly succeeded in repulsing the Pallava army under Siruttoṇḍar.⁵⁴ A successor of Durvinīta Ganga, namely, Bhūvikrama claims to have defeated the Pallava king possibly Paramēśvaravarman⁵⁵ at Vilinda in the Tumkur region. No doubt it refers to one of the phases of the Chalukya-Pallava conflict.⁵⁶

Then Vikramāditya is also said to have defeated the 'Trairājya'. Many scholars have identified 'Trairājya' with the Pallavas. This is improbable in the light of the following verse offered as an introduction at a court while the feudatories had come to pay their respects to their lord thus;

1. *Āyātu Mūṣikēndrādi dami dama Kṛṣṇādāgam Lāṭa rājyat*
2. *Sāru Strirājya rājñi Prahitamidañte Kramēṇōpanītam*
3. *Ētat trai-rājyarājai-ravagiritamidam Pallavēndrā-davāptam*
4. *Dēvētyā vēdayante Satatamu panatam Yasya ratnam niyuktaḥ*⁵⁷

This clearly reveals that the 'Trairājya Rāja' is different from the Pallavēndra. Then who is this Trairājya rāja? They are said to be Pāṇḍya, Chōlā, and Kēraḷa in various inscriptions.⁵⁸ Others have interpreted the triad of kings defeated by the Chalukyan king and said as three successive kings of the Pallava dynasty identified by all the scholars as Narasimha I, Mahēndra II and Paramēśvaravarman I. This is doubtful. Because the Gadwal Plates specifically mention only Īśvaravarma. A hero stone at Hanumanthapuram⁵⁹ in mentioning the name of Īśvaravarma strengthens the doubt. Therefore, when there are stone records in the Tamil country mentioning Īśvaravarman, it would not be very correct to agree with the identification of Īśvaravarman with Paramēśvaravarman and the possibility of the Īśvaravarman mentioned in Hanumanthapuram record being the same as in the Chalukyan record cannot be ruled out.

A close examination of the meaning of the Talamañchi Plates reveal that before the accession of Vikramāditya to the throne the Chalukyan kingdom had suffered under the 'Rājatraya' and it is well known that the Chalukyas were defeated by the Pallavas during the closing years of Pula-kēśi II. It is reasonable therefore, to believe that the Pallavas should have been in possession of or dominating the

Chalukyan kingdom and not Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. Any one can now see the logic in the explanation given by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya that the '*Trairājya*' were the Pallavas themselves. The common danger from Chalukya Pulakēśi II should have united them—the three branches of the Pallava dynasty,⁶⁰ who had owed nominal allegiance to the Kāñchī king. As it should have grown weak during the Pallava interregnum, it is certain that Vikramāditya should have over-whelmed them before his succession.

*Gujarat Branch of Chalukyas*⁶¹

Just as we notice the branching of their family during the reign of Pulakēśi II (Eastern branch), so do we notice the Gujarat branch of the family taking shape during the reign of Vikramāditya I. The Nausari Plates⁶² of Dhārāśraya Jayasimhavarman (A.D. 671) point out that, that prince owed his allegiance and prosperity to the kindness of his elder brother Vikramāditya I. This grant was made by the son of Dhārāśraya, viz., Śryāśraya Śilāditya Yuvarāja. According to the Nasik grant,⁶³ Dhārāśraya annihilated the entire army of Vajjada in the land between the rivers Māhi and Narmadā. Vajjada is a corrupt form of *Vajrata*. A king of that name according to the Rāshtrakūṭa records was defeated by the army of the Chalukyan emperor of Gujarat branch of the Chalukyas helped Vikramāditya against Pallavas.

In an undated inscription found at Arkatavemula in the Proddatur Taluk, certain Bhūpāditya appears as a subordinate to Śrīvallabha Mahārājādirāja Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka.⁶⁴ It is generally believed that Śrīvallabha title is of the Chalukyan family: Since no body except Vikramāditya I bore this title, he is identified with Vikramāditya I. Bhūpāditya helped his master in reducing the chiefs of the Perbaṇavamśa ruling in the neighbourhood.⁶⁵ Shamasastri makes Bhūpāditya a contemporary of Vijayāditya on the

authority of another inscription.⁶⁶ Although this is doubtful there could have been two of them one contemporary to Vikramāditya and the other to his grandson.⁶⁷

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THE CAREERS OF VINAYĀDITYA AND VIJAYĀDITYA

B. N. SARVAMANGALA

The Chalukyas of Badāmi held sway over extensive regions of the Deccan for about two centuries from the middle 6th century to about middle of the 8th century. This dynasty produced many mighty emperors like Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya, who distinguished themselves among the Chalukya emperors as great conquerors, foresighted administrators and benevolent rulers.

Vikramāditya I was succeeded by his energetic son Vinayāditya. Under Vinayāditya the power of the early Chalukyas which had been eclipsed during the last years of Pulakēśin II, rose to its zenith. Though he had a short reign of about fifteen years, his reign witnessed a series of achievements in several fields like war, religion and letters, besides, contacts with far-flung lands like Cambodia, Persia, Ceylon and China. Vinayāditya continued the glorious traditions of the early Chalukyas in conquests, administration, religion, art and architecture, as is reflected in most of his inscriptions.

The Paṇiyāl grant,¹ which is the earliest record of Vinayāditya up to now discovered is dated in the second year of the king, on the full-moon day in the month of *Vaiśākha* after the expiry of *Śaka* 604. The grant is thus dated 27th April 682. Since the grant is said to be in the second regnal year of the king, his accession may be fixed at 680 A.D. or 681 A.D. From other inscriptions² we find that his regnal years were counted from A.D. 678 or 679 A.D. On the basis of the Pallava sources,³ it may be said that Siruttondar marched against Vātāpi on behalf of his sovereign Paramēśvarvaman I and captured it and brought spoils to Kāñchi. This invasion and sack of Vātāpi must have taken place at about A.D. 679, immediately after the death of the Chalukya Vikramāditya I. This disturbance

in the Chalukya Capital and temporary occupation of Vātāpi by the Pallavas must be responsible for some copper-plates to count the regnal years from the actual coronation of Vinayāditya on the throne. Some others count his regnal year from the date of the death of Vikramāditya I, thus including also the period of his probable obscurity.

Being a crown prince, Vinayāditya had checked the power of the three kings,⁴ the Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa, Choḷa and also of the Pallavas, at the command of his father and had impressed him by bringing peace and order in all these provinces. There are references, in his own inscriptions,⁵ which show that Vinayāditya subdued Kaḷabhra, Kēraḷa, Haihaya, Choḷa, Vila, Mālava, Pāṇḍya and all other Southern chiefs in battle. It seems that the Campaign against the South was started by Vikramāditya I and later continued by his son and successor Vinayāditya. Pāṇḍya king Arikēsari Māravarman,⁶ who was a great soldier and fought many battles for the extension of Pāṇḍya power, probably entered into an alliance with the Chalukya king. The Mālava is very probably the Malava or Malavarāya,⁷ the chieftain ruling over the region on the borders of the Tiruchirapalli and Salem Districts round about the Kollimalai. The Kaḷabhra is referred to in many records, even though there has been much uncertainty about their origin and manner of their coming to the Tamil Country. According to the Velvikūḍi plates,⁸ the Kaḷabhras had occupied the Pāṇḍya country and were ruling at Madurai. Vinayāditya must have been subdued the above said feudatories and made them his faithful vassals between his 9th and 14th years. This event certainly took place atleast in the 9th year of his reign as it is mentioned in Jejuri copper plates,⁹ dated in Śaka 609, corresponding to A.D. 687. Vinayāditya led an expedition to Northern India and acquired the insignia of the Gangā, Yamunā and Pālidhvaja,¹⁰ some scholar have suggested that Vinayāditya fought a war on the banks of the Gangā, and the Yamunā and defeated Yaśōvarman, the ruler of

Kanauj, while others identify him with Vajrata the ruler of Valabhī, who figures in Rāshtrakūṭa records among the kings defeated by the Chalukyas.

In the course of this *Digvijaya*, Vinayāditya probably helped the Gurjaras to recover their kingdom, which was conquered by Silāditya III alias Vajrata.¹¹ Vajrata was a very powerful king, and the Chalukyas won great renown by defeating him. According to a Chalukya record,¹² dated 685 A.D. Dhārāśraya-Jayasimha defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjada in the country between the Mahi and the Narmadā. There can be hardly any doubt that this Vajjada is identical with king Vajrata of the Rāshtrakūṭa records. As he was defeated in the territory between the Mahi and the Narmada, he was probably the Valabhi king Silāditya III who had occupied the Gurjara territory, for it is difficult to conceive of any other powerful king ruling in this region in or shortly before A.D. 685. The name Vajrata is not found in the Valabhi records, but as all the kings of Valabhi after Silāditya III bear the same name, it is likely that each of them had an additional personal name.

If we assume the identity, it would appear that when Silāditya III, conquered the Gurjaras, the latter could hardly remain indifferent to the extension of the Valabhi power near his own frontier. Gurjara king might have requested the Chalukya monarch for help to recover his kingdom. Vinayāditya had sent an army under the leadership of Dhārāśraya-Jayasimha, who evidently performed this task successfully.

After this victory the Chalukya army must have proceeded further and defeated Yaśovarman, the ruler of Kanauj, on the banks of the Gangā and the Yamunā. The southern conquests of Yaśovarman described in *Gauḍo-Vahō*,¹³ include an interesting battle. This battle took place during the reign of Vinayāditya. It is not unreasonable to identify him

with Yaśôvarman. The account of the victory as reported in the Chalukya inscriptions with a king who is not named but is described as the 'Lord of the north' need not been taken as literally true. If the identification of the northern king with Yaśôvarman be accepted, we can easily account for the panegyrics of his court poet, Vākpathi.

In the course of his *Digvijaya*, Vinayāditya stayed at Nāgāi,¹⁴ which lay east of the Bhīmā river. This shows that one of the enemies against whom Vinayāditya fought in his *digvijaya* was a Rāshtrakūṭa. This *Digvijaya* appears to be different from the expeditions undertaken in A.D. 687 or 692 and other years during which he had his victorious camps at Rakthapura¹⁵ (Paṭṭadakal, in Bijapur District), Pampātirtha,¹⁶ in Bellary District, Elumpandali,¹⁷ and Chitracedu in *Turramara Vishaya*. This *Digvijaya* during the course of which Vinayāditya had encamped at Rāmēśvartirtha in Kendūrnāḍu can be dated sometime during his reign, i.e., 681-696 A.D., probably after 692 A.D. and definitely before A.D. 696.

Vinayāditya, in his 14th year,¹⁸ subjugated Ālupas and Haihayas. He strengthened his empire by his policy of matrimonial alliance with Ālupas. From the later sources we know that Vinayāditya had a daughter named Kumkumadēvī,¹⁹ who was married to the Ālupa king Chitravāhana. It is not known when actually this marriage took place.

Vinayāditya was an ambitious king and was responsible for widening the Chalukya empire by annexing Kamēra, Pārasika and Ceylon,²⁰ by levying tributes on them. He extended friendly alliance to China.²¹ It may not be an exaggeration to say that maritime enterprise of the Chalukyas to the south-eastern islands may probably be dated to the days of the intrepid drive of the early Chalukyas to the eastern sea-board of southern India. From the available epigraphs²² it is evident that this drive to the eastern sea coast by the early Chalukyas had begun under Pulakēśin II and

continued by his successors. The early Chalukyas were well aware of the importance of the navy in the warfare. Vinayāditya maintained a powerful navy.

Fleet thought Kamēra is the same as Kāvērī and it is the name of people or a country from which the name of the river Kāvērī has been derived and thus implied that it could be Kaveri valley.²³ But Kamēra is described as a “*Dvīpa*” along with other countries like Persia and Ceylon. It indicates that Kamēra could also be some country beyond the sea. However, there is a possibility of identifying the word Kamēra with Cambodia.²⁴ The word Khmer is still used among the inhabitants of Cambodia. If the Chalukyas could wield their influence over such distant lands as Persia and Ceylon it is not unlikely that they were capable of the same in regard to Cambodia also.

A study of the 7th century Cambodian history,²⁵ shows that the Pallavas of Kāñchi had political supremacy over some regions in south-east Asia. It is clear from a few inscriptions of Cambodia,²⁶ which contain a reference to the Pallavas in an eulogy. Unfortunately it is not easy to make out, because of a break in the stone. Cambodian prince Chitrasēna of the Bhavavarman dynasty changed his name as Mahēndravarman, reminiscent of the Pallava connections. It is quite natural that Vinayāditya had also tried to establish Chalukyan supremacy over Cambodia, where his rivals had already maintained political influence. The Kolhapur Museum Plates²⁷ of Vinayāditya dated in the 13th regnal year, *Saka* 615, state that Vinayāditya had his canopy of fame spread by the letters of request submitted by those whom he had won by his valour the Pallava king and those to the east of him, and his accomplished victory over the *Trairājya* became the subject-matter of festive songs of the damsels of Kamēra (lines 26-29). This statement suggests that Vinayāditya levied tributes on “Kamēra, Pārasika’ Ceylon and other Dvīpādhipas” only after suppressing the Pallava power.

About Vinayāditya's conquest of Ceylon, indigenous sources are silent. But from other sources,²⁸ it is known that the ruler of Ceylon of this period was Mānavarma. Mānavarma was known to have been a strong supporter of the Pallavas and had directly participated in several wars fought by them against the early Chalukyas. And it can be easily construed that when an opportunity arose Vinayāditya took revenge against Mānavarma, who had friendly contacts with the Pallavas.

We may now pass on to the question of the Chalukyan contact with the distant Persia. In this context we may remember that it was in the reign of his grandfather Pula-kēśin II that an embassy had been sent to Khusrāu II of Persia in A.D. 625-26.²⁹ It is not unlikely that the precedent was imitated by the Grandson Vinayāditya in circa 692 A.D. But extracting tributes from Persia might be an exaggeration.

It is almost at this time in circa 692, A.D. that Vinayāditya had sent an embassy to the Chinese court. In a Chinese encyclopaedia³⁰ of the 11th century A.D. as gathered by Chavaennes, and as preserved in the writing of the Mediaeval Chinese historian Matwan-Lin, we have many interesting details³¹ about the contacts between India and China. Here the second Indian ruler who is reputed to have sent an embassy to China was Chalukya Vallabha. When this name has to be referred to Vinayāditya certain considerations in connection with this ruler may be noted. He had among other titles the following *Śrīprithivīvallabha*. He is reputed to have conquered quite a number of kings of South-India (all of whom are named in the inscriptions) and to have levied tribute from the kings of Kamēra, Pārasika and Simhala. He is also referred to have acquired the *pālīdhvaja* and the flags bearing the signs of the rivers the Gangā and the Yamunā. That the name Chalukya Vallabha agrees very well with the name given in the Chinese encyclopaedia, that the year of the embassy (692) falls within his reign, and that he

conquered some part of northern India which might have given him access to the road leading to China go to show that it was Vinayāditya who has been referred to in the Chinese sources. Here it may be noted that the Chalukya adversary Narasimhavarman II also had active contact with China.³² He is said, in the Chinese sources, to have sent an embassy to China to inform the Chinese Emperor of his intention to go to war against, the Arabs and the Tibetans and requested him to give a name to his army which was given. He also sent word that he had also constructed a temple on account of the Emperor and requested him to give a name to it also. The Chinese Emperor honoured the ambassador and sent an embassy in return to South India to gratify the wishes of the Pallavas. This shows the diplomacy of Chinese emperor, who maintained diplomatic relationship with the mighty kings of South India.

The absence of any mention of these countries, or even the defeat of the Pallavas in the records of Vinayāditya up to the A.D. 693 and in addition of the extra passage in the Kolhapur Museum plates (lines 26-29), seems unusual in the stereotyped charters of early Chalukyas. The date of this record falls in December A.D. 694, suggesting that probably between these dates Vinayāditya must have secured victory over the Pallavas and quite likely had intervened in the politics of Kamēra, Persia and Ceylon. However, it is difficult to account for the absence of any reference of these countries in the Harihara plates³³ issued in October A.D. 695. It is possible that the author of the Harihara plates simply copied the genealogical introduction or it is also possible that the Chalukya supremacy over Cambodia and other countries was short lived. There is a gap of epigraphical evidence relating to the early Chalukyas between A.D. 695 and 700. By the latter date onwards at least the epithet referring to Vinayāditya as the one who got tributes from Kamēra, Persia and Ceylon became part of the genealogical introduction.

Vinayāditya was successful in expanding the boundaries of the Chalukya Empire, enhancing its power and prestige on an unprecedented scale.

Vinayāditya was also a farsighted and efficient administrator. He divided his vast dominions into small units which could be well governed by his trustworthy and able officers. The *Vishayas* mentioned in his copper plates are *Turamara*,³⁴ *Adevalal*,³⁵ *Nalavadi*,³⁶ *Palyathana*,³⁷ *Sthudhirata*,³⁸ *Karmaneya*,³⁹ and *Pedkalli*.⁴⁰ Though the chiefs were responsible for the administration of their territories the king toured the different parts of the empire quite often and instructed his chiefs to attend to the problems of their subjects. One of his records⁴¹ mentions the remission of certain fees and duties by an official named Kandaraba at the time of accession to office. In spite of his busy schedule of wars, government was efficient and smooth.

Apart from the above said chiefs, there were many feudatories under Vinayāditya. Among them the Gangas and the Ālupas maintained close and friendly alliance with Vinayāditya. Vinayāditya had given in marriage his daughter Kumkumadevī to the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana. Dhārāśraya Jayasimhavarman of the Lāṭa region was associated with conquests and the administration for a long time with his son Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Silāditya. They were safeguarding the north-west frontiers of the Chalukya kingdom. From the seventh century A.D. there was perpetual hostility between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas, and very often western Ganga kingdom was the meeting place of these powers in battle. This clearly shows that like eastern Chalukyas, Gangas were also safeguarding the boundaries between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas. The Bāṇas, who were ruling over Gāṅga Rēnāḍu and Vamgarnur *Vishaya* seems to have accepted the suzerainty of Vinayāditya.⁴² Mahārāja Pogilli of the Sēndraka family was in possession of territories in the Karnataka area previously held by the Kadambas.⁴³

Vinayāditya's chief queen was Vinayavati. He had two sons, viz., Vijayāditya and Arikēśarin I. While editing the copper plates of Vinayāditya from Kolhapur⁴⁴ dated in Saka 615, Panchamukhi has referred to the Kolipara Copper Plates⁴⁵ of Arikēśarin I. Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya I and the father of Arikēśarin I, who was also called Vinayāditya, had the same titles 'Yuddhamalla', 'Śrī Raṇanriparikusa' and 'Rājāśraya'. Uruvigeṅṛāma is mentioned in both the records. On the basis of these similarities found in both the records, Panchamukhi concluded that Arikēśarin I was another son of Vinayāditya, who was put in charge of the eastern possessions and ruled from Bodhana in the Nizamabad District of the Andhra Pradesh.

Vinayāditya had the title 'Yuddhamalla'. Ranna, the author of Gadāyuddha refers to him 'Durdharamalla'. He had the titles 'Satyāśraya Śrī-Prithivivallabha', 'Rājāśraya', and enjoyed all the imperial titles of his father (Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka).

A fragmentary Kannada inscription at Sannati⁴⁶ records that the elephant named Maṅgala brought under control by Rājasimha, fought between the Ballāla and Duggarasa of Datti. From many epigraphs of Vinayāditya, it is clear that he had the title 'Rājāśraya'. If this identification is accepted, Vinayāditya seems to have possessed the knowledge of controlling elephants.

The period of Vinayāditya was noted for the flourishing condition of Sanskrit and Kannada learning. Mahāsandhivigrahika Rāmapuṇyavallabha, who was the minister for war and peace seems to be well versed in many languages like Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu. He had composed many records of Vinayāditya in different languages like Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu which indicate the popularity of the languages and their status.

The dominions of the Chalukyas under Vinayāditya extended from Gujarat in the north, the Nellore District in

the south. In the north the river Narmadā, in the east parts of Karnool, Guntur and Nellore Districts of Andhra Pradesh the whole of Mysore area down to the river Kāvēri in the south, were roughly within the dominions of the Chalukya empire, under Vinayāditya.

VIJAYĀDITYA

Vinayāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya, in A.D. 696. Vijayāditya's reign is the longest among the early Chalukyas and also the most prosperous and peaceful. Vijayāditya like his father and grandfather kept up the glorious traditions of the Chalukya dynasty.

The early part of the Vijayāditya's life was characterised by many wars and conquests. He had his training in military and administrative matters during the rule of his father. He assisted his father in his military campaigns. Vijayāditya pursued his expedition northwards and acquired the *Pālidhvaja* banner and also the signs of the Gangā and Yamunā rivers.⁴⁷ During this *digvijaya*, Vijayāditya had taken the privilege of issuing a grant after obtaining permission from his father.⁴⁸

When Vijayāditya was engaged in warfare, he was ambushed and taken prisoner but he somehow escaped. It is not known who these enemies, who carried him into captivity were. In this context it is interesting to note that Pallava king Narasimhavarman II has been identified with one *Kadavar Kon Kalarsingam* mentioned by saint Sundarar.⁴⁹ Kalarisingan is said to have captured the northern land. If the identification of Kalarsingam and Narasimhavarman II is accepted, it may be taken that his victory over the northern land probably was against the Chalukyas. All this was before A.D. 696, the date of Vijayāditya's accession to the Chalukya throne.

The absence of the monarch from the imperial capital encouraged his subordinates, among whom the Rāshṭra-

kūṭa must have been conspicuous. Vijayāditya somehow escaped from the enemies. After his return to the kingdom he established his power by bringing peace and order in the kingdom. He put an end to anarchy which was caused by his absence. Vijayāditya was successful in keeping the Pallava, the Rāshtrakūṭa, and other dynasties of South India, out of the Chalukyan empire but he could not eliminate them from the peninsular politics.

Vijayāditya was the only ruler of the early Chalukyas who has left sufficiently rich number of inscriptions which are dated in king's regnal year successively. The intense religious revival that started during the reigns of his predecessors continued in an accelerated tempo during his reign, as is reflected in his inscriptions. The detailed study of the inscriptions reveal that Vijayāditya was an efficient administrator and a benevolent ruler. He inherited vast dominions of his father. After death of the mighty emperor Vinayāditya, feudatories were trying to overthrow the Chalukya suzerainty and to rise their own dynasties to an independent status. Vijayāditya was also to face the dangers from his neighbouring enemies. His main task was to safeguard the kingdom from the dangers from every corner. It is interesting to note in this connection that most of his inscriptions were issued from the military camps, and reveal that Vijayāditya was touring with his army from place to place and was always conscious about the dangers, to his kingdom. It was also possible, that the king was very particular about the maintenance of internal peace and order.

Though civil administration was mostly in the hands of the local bodies, Vijayāditya seems to have intervened when matters went wrong. Some of his records dated in 22nd⁵⁰ and 23rd year⁵¹ reveal that Vijayāditya visited the *Turamāra Vishaya* and intervened in the fight between two governors, viz., Governors of *Turamāra Vishaya* and the lords of Polagai Cheruvu. It is stated that the *Turamāra Vishaya* belonged to Bāṇarāja, who styled himself as

Vikramāditya Bali Indra Kulatilaka Bāṇarāja, defeated the lords of Polagai Cheruvu. This Bāṇa subordinate of Vijayāditya thus appears to have had a long reign, having started as such even during the days of Vikramāditya I. Circumstances under which the fight between the Governors started is not clear. A suggestion has been made that the region was invaded by the Pallavas from the south-east of Chalukya kingdom between A.D. 692-720 and temporarily occupied by them. Vijayāditya's contemporary Pallava ruler of Kāñchi was Narasimhavarman II. Therefore, it is not unlikely that the fight in the *Turamāra Vishaya* could have been due to the incursions of the Pallavas or their feudatories. It is also possible that there was a local civil war which was put down by Bāṇarāja on behalf of his sovereign Vijayāditya.

Vijayāditya was encamping at Rāsenanagara⁵² in A.D. 700. Fleet has identified Rāsenanagara with Rāsiyana of the Rāshtrakūṭa grant of a century later. This identification establishes that Vijayāditya was advancing towards in north, though the reason for this expedition was not known previously. The object of the march of Vijayāditya becomes clear by a comparative study of Multai⁵³ and Sangalooda Copper Plates⁵⁴ of Rāshtrakūṭa king Nannarāja. Nannarāja who was ruling the provinces of Berar, had begun to assert himself and in all probability Vijayāditya had taken up on himself the task of enforcing his supremacy over Nannarāja. The attempt of Vijayāditya did not meet with any success. During Vijayāditya's reign in circa A.D. 700, Nannarāja overthrew the Chalukya suzerainty and raised his own dynasty to an independent status.

The greatest political achievement of Vijayāditya's reign, was the defeat of Parameśvaravarman II by the crown prince Vikramāditya about in A.D. 728-29⁵⁵. He led an expedition to Kāñchi, extracted tribute from Paramēśvaravarman II and while returning, presented Ulchalu and Pariyalu to Durvinīta Ereyappa of the Kongaṇi, who assisted

him in this campaign. The circumstances under which Vikramāditya led this expedition against the Pallava kingdom are not clear. But it may be surmised that Narasiṃhavarman II who constructed a considerable number of monuments necessarily required immense resources and acquired the same by means of invasions and raids on his enemy territories. Here it may be noted that Paranjoti is described in the *Periyapurāṇam* to have carried great spoils to Kāñchī from, Vātāpi. Vijayāditya took advantage of Narasiṃhavarman II's death in A.D. 728-29 and made what may be called a counter raid, immediately after the removal of Narasiṃhavarman II's strong arm.

Vijayāditya maintained cordial relationships with his feudatories. He visited Ālupa king Chitravāhana twice,⁵⁶ who was his brother-in-law and at the request of the latter issued grants to a Jaina monastery. It was constructed by Vijayāditya's sister Kumkumadēvī at Puṇigere (Lakshmeshwar in Dharwar District). Jayāśraya Mangalarāja, surnamed Vinayāditya and Yuddhamalla was ruling the Lāṭa region. Sēndraka ruler Poggilli Mahārāja was governing Nayar koṇḍa region. Bāṇa ruler was ruling over *Turamāra Vishaya* covering the region of Gooty and Jammalamadugu Taluk in the Anantapur District. Ālupa king Chitravāhana was holding the region of Banavāsi.

In the reign of Vijayāditya there was one Niravadya-Paṇḍita alias Udayadeva-Paṇḍita,⁵⁷ a Jaina to whom Vijayāditya granted a village. Niravadya Paṇḍita who was of the mūlasaṅgha lineage was the spiritual guide to Vinayāditya.

There is a reference of another Niravadya Puṇyavallabha,⁵⁸ who was the minister for war and peace, lived almost coterminously with his master, Vijayāditya and also during some part of the reign of his son Vikramāditya II,

Vijayāditya is said to have had two sons. The elder one was Vikramāditya II and the younger one Bhīma, from whom the later Chalukyas claimed their descent.

Undoubtedly Vijayāditya was one of the most colourful Chalukya kings. He had several wives. An inscription⁵⁹ at the temple of Mahākūṭa records the gifts of the courtesan Vināpōṭi, who is described as the 'Soul's darling' of Vijayāditya.

Vijayāditya bore the titles '*Satyāśraya*', '*Samastabhuvanāśraya*', '*Raṇarasika*', and '*Śrī-prithvī-Vallabha*', and enjoyed the usual imperial titles of his father and grandfather. He was also sometimes styled as '*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*' in place of '*Bhaṭṭāraka*'.

The reign of Vijayāditya witnessed a remarkable growth in Brahmanism and Jainism. This is attested by his numerous inscriptions, in which he had occasion to refer to his devotion and grants made to Brāhmaṇas who were well-versed in Vedas and Vēdāṅgas and to Jaina teachers. Vijayāditya's Ālampur inscription dated in his 18th regnal year records that at the command of Vijayāditya the teacher Īśānachārya constructed the enclosure of the temple at Ālampur.⁶⁰ It may be observed that the fort in which the slab bearing the inscription is fixed, itself forms a sort of an enclosure to the group of temples called Navalingēśvara, the most important of which is the Bālabrahmēśvara shrine. The record does not give any details about the teacher who was responsible for the construction of the enclosure. It is interesting to note that shrines dedicated to Brahma are rare in India and as such Ālampur stands out in prominence amidst the pilgrim centres of India today.

Vijayāditya continued the tradition of the Chalukya emperors in patronising art and architecture. He built the famous temple of Siva under the name of Vijayēśvara now called Sangamēśvara at Paṭṭadakal. His mother Vinayavati installed Brahma, Viṣṇu, Mahēśvara at Badāmi and issued many grants to several Brāhmaṇas.⁶¹ This suggests that Vijayāditya might have constructed a temple for *trimūrtis* at Badāmi to fulfil his mother's wishes. His

41. *Ind. Ant.*, 191, p. 143.
42. *ARIE.*, 1959-60, No. 5.
43. *Ind. Ant.*, 19, p. 143.
44. *ARIE.*, 1962-63.
45. *Digest of Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province for 1940-41.*
46. *ARIE.*
47. *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 14.
48. *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 88.
49. *Kadalsilndarsarukkam, Kalarsinganayanar puranam.*
50. *BISM.*, Vol. X, Pt. 2, Pt. I.
51. *MER.*, 1924, No. 364.
52. *Ind. Ant.* Vol., XP. 125.
53. ALTEKAR, A. S., *The Rashtrakutas and their times*, p. 35.
54. Cited in *Classical Age*, pp. 201-202.
55. *AI.*, Vol. 5.
56. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, p. VII.
57. *Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 110-11.
58. *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 14 and Vol. XXV.
59. *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 102.
60. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, Part III, pp. 121-124.
61. *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 60.
62. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. VII.

VIKRAMĀDITYA II

S. NAGARAJU

The object of this paper is to delineate the career and personality of Vikramāditya, the last but one ruler of the Early Chalukya Dynasty, the man who is credited with the conquest of Kāñchī thrice, and who displayed his generosity in returning considerable wealth that he acquired by right of conquest to the various temples of Kāñchī. At the outset it should be confessed that the account can only be sketchy, as there are only fourteen inscriptions¹ of the ruler and many among them are not helpful for the present enquiry. However, a few inscriptions belonging to various rulers of the contemporary dynasties and some of his successors as well as his predecessor Vijayāditya provide indirect evidences.

Before entering into the discussion of his career, we may just refer in passing to his family details which, however, are too well known. Vikramāditya was the first of the two sons of Vijayāditya, the other being Bhīma from whom the descent of the Later Chalukyan line is traced in their records.² Vikramāditya had married two sisters of the Haihaya family, Lōka-mahādēvī and Trailōkya-mahādēvī. Kīrtivarman was born of Trailōkya-mahādēvī.³ He had a daughter also, Vinayavatī, who had married a Rāshtrakūṭa chief Gōvindarāja, who held sway over Konkan under him.⁴

Vikramāditya's capital appears to have been at *Raktapura* (Sanskrit form of *Kisuvola*, *Paṭṭadakal*).⁵

Vikramāditya II first appears in epigraphical records in 710-11 A.D. The Kāruva grant⁶ of Vijayāditya of that year states that the king granted the village Kāruva near Karahāṭa (Karad) at the request of Vikramāditya. It can be

surmised from this that young Vikramāditya may have been administering the western parts of the Chalukya empire under his father. This is probably substantiated by the Lakshmēśvar inscription,⁷ wherein he is stated to have set up certain norms for the conduct of affairs of the local administration of that place when he was *Yuvarāja*.⁸

The Uḷchāla Inscription⁹ dated in the 35th regnal year of Vijayāditya informs that *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya went on an expedition to Kāñchī, levied tributes from Paramēśvara Pallava, and on his way back presented two villages Uḷchalu and Pariyalu to Durvinīta Eṇeyappa. This appears to be the first military activity in the career of Vikramāditya and also the first of the three conquests of Kāñchī mentioned in the Paṭṭadakal record.¹⁰ As the Uḷchāla inscription specifically states that he made the grants on his way back, the conquest may be placed in the early part of 35th regnal year or late in the 34th regnal year of Vijayāditya, i.e., in about 730-31 A.D. Paramēśvara Pallava from whom tributes were levied is evidently Paramēśvaravarman II (728-731 A.D.).¹¹ The Ganga ally Durvinīta Eṇeyappa may be a son of Śrīpurusha (728-88), either Duggamāra or Śivamāra.¹² The location of this inscription at Uḷchāla in Kurnool District indicates the route of the return journey of Vikramāditya from Kāñchī to his capital.

The accession of Vikramāditya II to the throne can be easily placed in December 733 or January 734 A.D. on the basis of Lakshmēśvar stone inscription and the Narwan plates. While the former is dated in his 2nd regnal year on a day corresponding to 13th January 735, the Narwan copper plate inscription shows that the date of its issue, viz., 21st December 741 (taking *Śaka* year as current) was within his 8th regnal year.

Basing on the statements in his Narwan plates, which also occur in the Kendūr¹³ and Vakkalēri¹⁴ plates of his son Kirtivarman, we may say that Vikramāditya became

enthusiastic after he ascended the throne, made up his mind to uproot his natural enemies, the Pallavas, and then entered *Tundaka Vishaya* hurriedly,¹⁵ defeated and drove away in battlefield the Pallava named Nandipōtavarma, confiscated several musical instruments, the flag, elephants and also good lot of precious stones. Further he entered Kāñchī without destroying it, pleased the poor and the uncared there by his gifts, and earned merit by re-donating all the gold to various temples including Rājasiṅghēśvara which had been constructed in stone by Narasiṃhapōtavarma. This is the second conquest of Kāñchī. The use of phrases like ‘*abhishēka samayānantara samupajāta mahōtsāhaḥ tvarayā*’ etc., in the copper plates in connection with this incident, probably shows that Vikramāditya did not lose much time after his coronation to set himself on the expedition to Kāñchī. So this second conquest of Kāñchī may be placed in about 734-35 A.D.

This conquest was made under the personal supervision of the king himself and was considered by him as an achievement great enough to be recorded in the famous temple of Kailāsanātha at Kāñchīpuram,¹⁶ and also to go into the records to be copied by the composers of the official *prasastis*.¹⁷ The statements in the Kāñchī, Narwan, Kendūr and Vakka-lēri inscriptions not only testify to his heroism, but also to the magnanimity he displayed in his actions in the capital of his enemy, which stands in contrast to what had been done previously by Pallava Narasiṃhavarman when he conquered Badāmi.

The contemporary Gaṅga ruler Śrīpurusha accompanied Vikramāditya in this expedition. Their journey to Kāñchī was done probably through *Noḷambavādi*. An inscription from Jangamarahalli (Pavagada Tq., Tumkur District) specifically credits this conquest to both Vikramāditya and Koṅguṇi Arasar (Ganga king),¹⁸ and it further says that something happened in *Noḷambavādi* (details not clear). Many warriors from this area may have fought in Kāñchī

at this time and this can be made out from a *vīragal* at Hire-madhure (Challakere Taluk, Chitradurga District).¹⁹

The Pallava king defeated by Vikramāditya now was Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. We may note here that after the death of Paramēśvaravarman II, the elite of the Pallava kingdom, with the help of Hiranyavarman, a scion of the Pallava family, placed the crown on Nandivarman who was just a boy then. It is not unlikely that the hurried (*tvarayā*) raid on Kāñchī by Vikramāditya was taken up with an intention to see that the new Pallava king would not become a thorn to the Chalukyas. Mahalingam opines that Vikramāditya had favoured the cause of Pallavadiraiyar, a claimant to the Pallava throne, who however died in his war against Nandivarman, and the expedition to Kāñchī was undertaken to avenge the death of his protege. He thinks further that Vikramāditya crowned Chitramāya, the brother of Pallavadiraiyar, and that Chitramāya ruled for about twenty years under the name of Skandaśiśya as a protege of the Chalukya king as borne out by the Rāyakōṭa plates in which he is called *Kō Vijaya Skandaśiśya Vikramavarman*.²⁰ However, two panels (Nos. XI and XII in the upper row in wall Nos. 6 and 7) among the historical sculptures of the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñchī are considered as probably representing Vikramāditya's advance and the surrender of a Pallava general.²¹

Narwan, Kendūr and Vakkalēri plates further inform us that after this victory Vikramāditya made his valour felt by the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Keraḷa and Kaḷabhra kings, and set up a pillar of victory in the southern ocean.²² There is nothing to substantiate these claims²³.

The enthusiasm of Vikramāditya II for military activity quiesced after this conquest. The court panegyrists could get nothing more to praise Vikramāditya than to recount this achievement of 734-35 in the copper plates issued

six years later in 741, or even after his death in the charters of his son Kīrtivarman II.²⁴

Vikramāditya II occupied the Chalukyan throne when the power of the dynasty was at its zenith. His empire extended as far as Narmadā in the north. Even southern Gujarat was under his control, being ruled by the members of a collateral Chalukyan line, who were obedient to the emperor at the centre. Many of the minor ruling families accepted his sovereignty. One Gōpālādēva of Pallava lineage who had the surname Vikramāditya Satyāśraya, thus displaying his allegiance to the Chalukya king, was ruling over the Honnāvar region.²⁵ A Rāshtrakūṭa chief, Gōvinda-rāja, son of Śivarāja, was administering *Konkaṇa*.²⁶ Another branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas, under the leadership of Māha-sāmāntādhipati Dantidurga, was ruling over north Deccan. The Kalachuris who were probably to the east of Dantidurga's territory were closely related to Vikramāditya through his wives.²⁷ The Vengi rulers too were related to the Badāmi house and it appears they had also become inactive in those days.²⁸ Further down, the Telugu-Chōḷas of Rēnāḍu and the *Bāṇas* continued their tradition of subordination of the Badāmi Chalukyas, as can be made out from their epigraphs where they mention either the Chalukya sovereign or they themselves would be bearing the Chalukya names, a sign of their subordinate status.²⁹ The Gaṅgas of Talakad were close allies as seen above. Now, the only powerful rivals, the Pallavas too were put down; the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chēra and Kaḷabhras, however, were very weak at this time. In these circumstances Vikramāditya became the unrivalled master of the whole of South India.

This was an unfortunate situation. Vikramāditya became complacent. Whatever be the reason for his inactivity in later years of his reign, the consequences were fatal to the very existence of the Chalukya empire as can be seen from the events that followed.

In about 739 A.D., the powerful army of the Arabs was knocking at the north-western borders of his empire.³⁰ The Navsāri plates³¹ of Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin (740 A.D.) gives a graphic and detailed account of the fight. The danger, however, was averted by Avanijanāśraya. But what is noteworthy in this connection is the attitude of apathy and the lack of foresight displayed by Vikramāditya at this hour of crisis.

We can make out from the absence of any mention of the Arab invasion, despite the defeat of the Arabs, in the Badāmi Chalukyan records, and also from the silence of the Navsāri plates regarding any help received from the sovereign by Avanijanāśraya, that Vikramāditya kept himself aloof at this critical hour. But he was simply satisfied in conferring titles like *Dakṣhiṇāpatha-sādhāra*, *Prithvī-vallabha* and *Anivartaka nivartayitṛ* to *Avanijanāśraya* after the victory over the Arabs was accomplished. It is clear from the statements of the Muslim chroniclers and the Navsāri plates that the intention of the Arabs was not just to raid Navsāri, but to thrust further deep and conquer the Deccan. This fact might not have been unknown to Vikramāditya, nor could he have thought of the Arab invasion as a petty affair, as the Arabs had shown their prowess previously in their conquests of Sind and North Gujarat. The titles conferred by him on *Avanijanāśraya* show that Vikramāditya was conscious of all these. But still he kept quiet.

This attitude of apathy on the part of Vikramāditya appears to have had a telling effect on the morale and discipline within his own empire. The external danger may have been averted but greater danger began to rise up within. Several subordinates may have been thinking of making profit out of the emperor's passivity. One of them, Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga, definitely began to take advantage. The Ellorā plates³² of this king clearly display this. Even though he calls himself *samadhigata pañcamahāśabda mahāsā-mantādhipati* in these plates, the drafting of the record shows

that he was not in a mood to respect the sovereign. Unlike the other copper plates of the period, we do not see any mention of the sovereign, and this was issued under the direct orders of Dantidurga himself. He assumes here the title *Prithvivallabha* too. Dantidurga, right within the period of Vikramāditya's rule, may have commenced military activities in the regions of Māhī, Rēvā and Mahānadi,³³ and this could have been partly at the expense of territories which were under the rule of Vikramāditya's allies like the Kalachuris. Gujarat was also probably in danger at this time. In fact, Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin is the last known ruler of the dynasty and he too is not heard of after the date of the Navsāri plates. Probably the cause of the disappearance of the Chalukya family of Gujarat could be due to the activities of Dantidurga. Even though no direct evidence is available for this we may take note of the fact that Dantidurga's early conquests included the regions of Rēvā and Māhī, and also that the Ellora plates though referring to a grant of a village in Aurangabad District, betray some connection with Gujarat.³⁴ With this, we can mention that there was a Rāshtrakūṭa family ruling over Gujarat in 758 A.D. It is said that Dantidurga may have given refuge to Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the arch enemy of the Chalukyas.³⁵ The forces that paved the way to the collapse of the Chalukyan empire were rising. But Vikramāditya remained a passive observer of all these.

However, sometime towards the end of Vikramāditya's reign the crown-prince Kīrtivarman II appears to have raided Kāñchī. Kīrtivarman's copper plates refer to this incident in glorious terms. They say that Kīrtivarman himself requested the emperor to send him to conquer the king of Kāñchī, obtained permission, and when he went there, the Pallava, who was incapable of facing him in open combat, hid himself in his fort, and Kīrtivarman crushed the enemy, collected elephants, rubies and gold and presented them to his father.³⁶

This is the third of the three expeditions of Kāñchī mentioned in the Paṭṭadakal record.³⁷ The Ainūli plates³⁸ clearly mention that the Pallava adversary at this time was Nandivarman II Pallavamalla himself. By this time Nandivarman may have regained the throne after his earlier discomfiture.³⁹

It is difficult to know the exact date of this third Kāñchī expedition. The Pallava records are again silent. Even the historical sculptures in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple do not have any panel with which this incident can be connected. This, after all, may be just a raid.

Vikramāditya II appears to have died sometime in 744-45 A.D. as Kīrtivarman was already on the throne by that time. Vikramāditya's rule lasted hardly for about 11 years, the shortest of all who held the Chalukya throne. He started his career well by shouldering administrative responsibilities and engaging in military activities, but became passive in later years, paving way for the ultimate overthrow of the rule of the Chalukyas. He, however, appears to have been a man of pious nature and magnanimous in his gestures even to the enemies. He was a lover of art and promoter of religion. He financed the construction of beautiful temples like the famous Virūpāksha at Paṭṭadakal, honoured the artists and made donations to the religious institutions.

REFERENCES

1. Inscriptions of Vikramāditya II are:—

- (i) Lakshmēśvar (Dharwar District) Pillar Inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya, (a later copy), *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 88.
- (ii) Tippalūru (Cuddapah District) Stone Inscription of his first regnal year, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 12.
- (iii) Lakshmēśvar Stone Inscription of his second regnal year Ś 656, (a later copy), *SIL.*, XX, p. 6.
- (iv) Narwan plates of his 8th regnal year, Ś 664, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, p. 125.

- (v) Nerur plates, undated, probably a forgery, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 132.
- (vi) Sīdenūr (Dharwar District) Stone Inscription, undated, *SII*, XX, p. 8.
- (vii) Bhairavakonda (Kurnool District) Stone Inscription, undated, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 173.
- (viii) Kāñchī Stone Inscription, undated, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 359.
- (ix) Aihole Stone Inscription, undated, *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 286.
- (x) Paṭṭadakal Stone Inscriptions, undated, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 164 ff.
2. Managōli Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 9; Yēvur Inscription, and Nilagunda and Mīraj plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 275, 143 and 311 respectively.
 3. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 1, ff.
 4. *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 145 and 335.
 5. *SII*, XX, p. 6, Lakshmeśvar Stone Inscription.
 6. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 322.
 7. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 188.
 8. Peculiarly, the text of this inscription does not mention the then ruler Vijayāditya, even though Vikramāditya was only a crown prince. I do not know whether we can read between the lines here and consider that Vikramāditya was virtually in charge of the administration. This may not be far fetched if we take note of the fact that Vijayāditya must have been considerably of advanced age at that time. It is known from his inscriptions that he had participated in the battles fought by his grandfather, i.e., quite some time before 682 A.D., ascended the throne in 696 A.D. and was ruler for 37 years till 733 A.D. He may have been at least in his sixties at the time of his death.
 9. *ARSIE.*, 1943-44 and 1944-45, Appendix E for the collection of 1941-42, No. 22.
 10. *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 164, Ins. No. C., L.11-12 "Sri Vikramāditya Bhāṭaraṣmūme Kāñchiyam mume parāṇisid orā" etc.
 11. NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A., *History of South India* (3rd edition), p. 154. Shortly afterwards Paramēśvaravarman died and anarchy set in the Pallava kingdom. This incident is depicted in sculpture in the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple of Kāñchī (wall 5, panel XIX). See Minakshi, C., *Historical Sculptures of the Vaikunṭhaperumal Temple, Kāñchī*, *MASL*, 63, p. 32.
 12. Mahalingam identifies him with Duggamāra Eṇeyappa. See *Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History*, p. 135. Śivamāra too had the name Eṇeyappa. (See *Madras Gazetteer*, III Part II, Geneological Table opp., p. 601).
 13. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 202.
 14. *Ibid.*, V, Page 200.

15. To quote ll. 33 ff. "*sakala-bhuvana-sāmrājya-lakshmī svayamvar=ābhishēka-samay=ānantara sampūjita mahōtsāhaḥ ātma-varṁśaja-pūrva-nṛpatīc-chaḥ=āpahāriṇaḥ prakṛity=amitrasya Pallavasya samul=onmūlanāya kṛita-matir=ati-tvarayā.....*" etc.
16. Kāñchī Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, III, 359.
17. Narwan, Kendur and Vakkaleri plates.
18. *MAR.*, 1941, p. 220, Inscription No. 54; to quote '*Vikramādityar=Koṅṇuṇi arasar Kāḍuveṇiya mēle (vi) ḷdu Kādi kolvandu.*
19. *MAR.*, 1939, p. 121, Inscription No. 23.
20. MAHALINGAM, T. V., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 148 ff.
21. *MASI*, 63, pp. 37-38.
22. The partially preserved set of Ainūli plates of Kīrtivarman too appears to have contained the same details (*MAR.*, 1909, p. 12 a).
23. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that the Pāṇḍya ruler Mārvarman Rājasimha formed an alliance with Vikramāditya and espoused the cause of Chitramāya. See *History of South India* (3rd edn.), p. 155.
24. The Narwan plates (741 A.D.) of Vikramāditya, Kendūr (750 A.D.) and Vakkalēri (754 A.D.) plates of Kīrtivarman II contain the same stereotyped epithets for Vikramāditya.
25. Haldipur plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 173.
26. Narwan plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, 28, 125.
27. Paṭṭadakal Pillar Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 1.
28. The contemporary ruler was the Eastern Chalukyan king Viṣṇu-vardhana III. The epigraphs do not give any information about him.
29. Tippalūru inscription of Pōrmukharāma. *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 12, Chila makkūru and Nallapalle inscriptions of Vikramāditya Chōla-mahārāja. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 220 ff.
30. This incident was considered to have occurred in 734 A.D., in the beginning years of Vikramāditya's rule. Cf. *EHD.*, p. 227. But Mirashi has shown from the internal evidence available in the Navsāri plates of Avānjanāśraya Pulakēśin and on the basis of Muslim chronicles, that the Arab invasion of Navsāri territory just have taken place in 739 A.D.; Cf. *CII*, IV, Introduction p. lix.
31. *CII*, Vol. IV.
32. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 25.
33. Sāmangad plates.
34. S. K. DIKSHIT, the editor of Ellora plates, says that its palaeographical features are closer to scripts of Valabhi and South Gujarat. The donees mentioned in Ellora plates hailed from Navsari.

35. MAHALINGAM, T. V., *Op. Cit.*, p. 157.
36. Kendur and Vakkalēri plates. To quote Vakkalēri plates II. 52-57,
 'Pitrā sam=ārōpita Yauvarajyah sva-kula-vairiṇah Kāñchī-patēr=
 nnigrahāya māṃ prēshaya ity=ādēśaṃ prārthya labdhvā tad=anantaram
 ēva krito prayāṇassann=abhimukham=āgatya prakāśa-yuddhaṃ kartum
 =asamarthaṃ pravishṭa durgam Pallavam bhagna-śaktim kṛitvā,
 mattamataṅga māṇikya suvarṇa kōtir=ādāya pitrē samarpitavā'.
37. By the way we may mention that the Paṭṭadakal inscription has the
 words 'mūme Kāñchiyuṇ=mūme parājisidōr'. Here mūme Kāñchi
 may be the Kannada rendering of 'Trairājya Kāñchi' which appears
 in many Chalukya records. I am thankful to my friend Dr. K.V.
 Ramesh for this suggestion.
38. *MAR.*, 1909, p. 12 a.
39. If we consider that Chitramāya had ruled for 20 years (see footnote
 15 above), it will be difficult to make out why this king who had been
 placed on the Pallava throne by Vikramāditya just a decade before
 had to be attacked again.

KĪRTIVARMA II AND THE DOWNFALL OF THE CHALUKYA EMPIRE

DR. B. R. GOPAL

In this paper an attempt is made to analyse the important events in the career of Kīrtivarma II and briefly summarise the causes for the downfall of the Chalukya empire. It has not been possible to reconstruct entirely the career of Kīrtivarma since the available source material is too little. Now many new records have been found in the last one or two facades and those that are discovered give us little information. In fact, we can only make a reinterpretation of the known acts.

An account of Vikramāditya II's rule is given in the previous paper. Therein the invasion of Kāñchi by Kīrtivarma, even while a prince, with the permission of his father Vikramāditya II, is referred to. This is the first noticeable incident in the career of Kīrtivarma. We know that Kīrtivarma was the last ruler of the Chalukya Dynasty with whom, as the later Chalukya records put it, the dynasty disappeared from the horizon.

To examine the reasons for the downfall of the Chalukyas, we have to analyse the political conditions that existed during this period in the country. In the south there were, till then, only two major powers, *viz.*, the Pallavas and the Chalukyas both of whom were arch enemies and exhausted their energies by their mutual quarrels. At the time of Kīrtivarma's coming to the throne, even the Pallava power was on the wane though temporarily. That was a period when there was confusion in the Pallava regime with the death of Paramēśvaravarman and the ascent of Nandivarman II to the throne under chaotic conditions. Although Nandivarman II ruled for more than 60 years the first two or three decades of his reign found him fighting against odd

circumstances to establish himself securely on the throne. His reign witnessed, in the very beginning the attack of Vikramāditya II when the latter was a king. And again Nandivarman had to face the invasion of the Chalukya prince Kīrtivarma when for a second time, he had to struggle hard to save his position. These early years also witnessed a revolt within his kingdom when Chitramāya overthrew Nandivarman and held power for sometime. But for Udayachandra his general, Nandivarman would have probably lost his throne forever.

In the north the political conditions were no better. The age of Harsha was over. But, there was no other power that could hold together the regions of the north. Kanauj had become a glorious city, the occupation of which was considered to be a matter of prestige. Slowly, we find the Pālas in the east and the Pratihāras in the west moving in opposite directions to collide and collapse ultimately. When Kīrtivarma ascended the throne even these powers were yet in the background and virtually there was no power in the north and in the east were the Eastern Chalukyas; but as usual they were the victims of other powers.

This was the condition when Kīrtivarma ascended the throne after his father's death. This unstable condition had made some of the feudatory chieftains assert their power. For example, it is well known that the Ālupas of South Kanara who were also matrimonially related to the Chalukyas were their loyal supporters. But from the Mallam Inscription it becomes clear that these Ālupas were no more allies of the Chalukyas,¹ but had changed over their allegiance to the Pallavas. We find Āluvarasa identified with Āluvarasa II making a request to Nandippottarasar, the Pallava king to make a gift. It has been suggested² that Āluvarasa allied himself with Udayachandra, the general of Nandivarman II in his expeditions, a reason why we find him in the distant Nellore region far away from his own territory. In this connection, we may notice that the *Chalukki-arasar*,

who figures in the same record is identified with Vikramāditya II by prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, who says that "this may well be accepted as an indication of the route followed by Vikramāditya either to Kāñchi or on his way back thence".³ We may note that the date of the Mallam record is fixed to be 745-76 A.D., which was the 15th regnal year of Nandivarman II as stated therein. Dr. Mahalingam, on the other hand, identifies the Chalukya with Kirtivarma. He says "it appears that finding himself in great difficulties in his own kingdom or having lost it temporarily, Kirtivarma II reconciled himself to the changed political conditions in the Pallava country, came to the south along with the Alupa ruler, who was a feudatory of the Chalukyas, and during that short period made the grant recorded in the Mallam inscription."⁴

However, we know that it was only a year earlier that, Kirtivarma had assumed sovereign power. There is no reason why this Chalukya king should figure as the *ājñapti* in the Mallam record of Nandivarman II as his subordinate. It is not possible to say when or how he came to accept the overlordship of the Pallava and that too for a short period of the Mallam record, since we find him continue to rule independently for almost a decade thereafter. Hence the *Chalukki arasar* mentioned in the record cannot be Kirtivarma. On the other hand, it is quite likely that he belonged to the Vengi family, the contemporary ruler then being Vishnuvardhana III.

It has been surmised that Pallava Nandivarman received help from Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga even before Kirtivarma ascended the throne. The statement in the undated Daśāvātāra inscription of Dantidurga that he won victories against Vallabha, Kāñchi, Kalinga, Kosala and Srīśaila besides Malwa, Lāṭa and Tanka, is taken to mean that Dantidurga conquered Kāñchī on behalf of Pallava Nandivarman who had actually sought refuge under Dantidurga himself. "This Rāshtrakūṭa conquest of Kāñchi must have resulted in

the dethronement of Skandaśiśya and the coronation of Nandivarman in his own place by Dantidurga in 745-46 A.D." ⁵ If according to the Mallam record Nandivarman II made a grant in 745-46 A.D., the date of the Mallam record, it is not clear how almost in the same year Dantidurga was recoronating Nandivarman on the Pallava throne. This was the year when Kīrtivarma ascended the throne. There is no other evidence to show that he was defeated or even attacked by the Rāshtrakūṭa in 745-46 A.D. And the latter could not have gone to Kāñchī without overcoming the Chalukya. True, Dantidurga's Ellora grant of 742 A.D. does not refer to the Chalukya overlord which only indicates his aspirations and plans, while by 754 A.D., the date of the Samangad grant, he had acquired supreme sovereignty by conquering Vallabha. This event must have taken place sometime before 754 A.D. and after 749 A.D., which is the date of the Kendur grant of Kīrtivarma II.

Dr. Mahalingam further says that Kīrtivarma who "was in difficulties in his kingdom" sought the help of the Pallava. The two different regnal years cited in the Vakka-leri and Kendur plates of the Chalukya king, resulting in a discrepancy regarding the actual year of accession of Kīrtivarma, has made the Professor say that generally such discrepancies occur only when there is some difficulty with regard to accession to the throne. It is this supposed seeking of the help of Nandivarman that makes Dr. Mahalingam think that Kīrtivarma is the *Chalukki-arasar* that figures as the *ājñāpti* in the Mallam record. But Nandivarman himself, according to him, had been recoronated in 745-46 A.D. But these are all, as yet, greatly in the form of surmises unsupported by more reliable evidences.

The three prominent personalities of the period are Nandivarman II, Dantidurga and Kīrtivarma. We have seen the activities of Nandivarman II. Now we shall notice the activities of Dantidurga. That Dantidurga had occupied the northern parts of the Chalukya empire before 754

A.D. is clear from his Samangad plates wherein he claims victory over Vallabha, who is identified with Kīrtivarma II. Dantidurga had made preparations to overthrow his master. It has been conjectured that during the reign of Vikramāditya II, when the Gujarat Chalukya defeated and drove out the Arabs, Dantidurga also stood behind that chief and thereby earned the titles *prithvivallabha* and *Khaḍgavalōka* from the Chalukya overlord.⁶ It has also been surmised that Dantidurga accompanied Kīrtivarma in the latter's expedition to Kāñchi and shared the credit of victory. Later, however, Dantidurga overthrew the Chalukyas of Nausari who were the kinsmen of the Badāmi Chalukyas. This act of the Rāshtrakūṭa is taken to be an immediate cause for war between Dantidurga and Kīrtivarma.

Dantidurga was an ambitious chief. He first secured his position and extended the area under his control, so as to include the regions contiguous to his patrimony. After annexing southern and central Gujarat, he attacked Malwa. Thereafter, he annexed Mahākōśaḷa. Thus, besides the regions in Gujarat, practically the whole of Madhya Pradesh came under his sway. Strengthening his position, Dantidurga finally opposed his overlord and defeated him. But, this Rāshtrakūṭa died young. Cruel hand of fate removed him from the scene and saved Kīrtivarma who continued to rule for a few more years. Dantidurga's victory over the Chalukya might have taken place in 753 A.D.

After the demise of Dantidurga, the Karnataka kingdom had to be recaptured by Krishṇa I, from Vallabharāja. Here we find a certain Rāhappa defeating whom Krishṇa secured not only the *Pālidhvaja* but also *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvaratvam*. It is now generally accepted that this Rāhappa is not Rāshtrakūṭa and it has been surmised that he might be a scion of the Chalukya family. *Pālidhvaja* is an insignia of the Chalukyas and naturally Rāhappa from whom it was conquered must be a Chalukya. Although there is a view that he is different from Kīrtivarma, since we know

that Kirtivarma continued to rule till 757 A.D., the date of the Vakkaleri grant, and this Rāhappa is not known to us from any other source, it is almost likely that Rāhappa is identical with Kirtivarma. Further if Vallabha defeated by Dantidurga is identified with Kirtivarma, nothing should prevent the Vallabha defeated by Krishṇa being identified with the same king. Rāhappa may as well be his personal name.

That Kirtivarma continued to retain his authority over the Anantapur-Cuddapah regions becomes clear from the recently discovered records of the Bāṇas of *Vanganūru-Vishaya*⁷ in the Anantapur District which acknowledge the overlordship of Kirtivarma. These records are undated; but they are certainly the indications of his control over the area. Karnataka kingdom, of course, continued to be ruled over by him. These indicate that in spite of the defeat he suffered at the hands of Dantidurga, he could hold together his kingdom for a few more years.

The main cause for the downfall of the Chalukyas is their wearing out energy in the series of warfares they engaged themselves in with the Pallavas. That Kirtivarma was certainly less competent before the more ambitious Rāshṭrakūṭa is clear. The diplomatic way in which Dantidurga planned his movements isolating Kirtivarma who was left with no allies to support speaks of the superiority of the Rāshṭrakūṭa.

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IDENTITY OF GŌVINDA, ĀPPĀYIKA, ŚILĀDITYA AND MAHĒNDRA

DR. (MRS.) KUMUD PRASANNA

Like the history of any ruling family in Ancient India, the history of the Chalukyas of Badāmi has its own share of uncertainties, ambiguities and probabilities. There exists a legitimate difference of opinion among scholars who have devoted their time and attention to the subject. However, in this area of darkness, one fact remains universally accepted that Pulakēśin II was the most outstanding among the rulers who graced the Chalukya throne of Vātāpi. True, a number of inscriptions of Pulakēśin II have been found but none stands comparison with the Aihole inscription¹ carved on the Meguti temple. Ravikīrti, the poet composer, lyrically furnishes the details of the military exploits of his patron Pulakēśin II.

In the first part of this paper I intend to deal with the issue of identification of Gōvinda and Āppāyika mentioned in the Aihole inscription while in the second part an effort is made to identify Śilāditya and Mahēndra mentioned in the Gaddemane inscription.

I

After describing the civil war between Mangalēśa and Pulakēśin II, Ravikīrti proceeds to state that the confusion prevailing in the Chalukya Kingdom offered an opportunity to Āppāyika and Gōvinda to attempt to conquer the country north of Bhīmārathī, i.e., northern territory of the Chalukyas comprising the present Poona and Ahmednagar Districts. But this inscription does not tell us to what dynasties these invaders belonged.

In the absence of any clue several suggestions have been made by scholars for a plausible identification of these chiefs.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar sought to identify Gōvinda with the great grandfather of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa I who ruled from A.D. 766 to A.D. 772.² This suggestion though ingenious, is unwarranted for the simple reason that as there are three generations intervening between them. Gōvinda, the progenitor of the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty can only be placed somewhere in the later half of the seventh century, *i.e.*, in the reign of Pulakēśin (II)s' son Vikramāditya I who ruled from A.D. 655 to A.D. 681.

On the other hand there is a possibility of Gōvinda being the grandfather of Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja³ who is known to have ruled from his headquarters at Achalāpura in the Amaravati District during the last quarter of the seventh century, *i.e.*, approximately from A.D. 680 to A.D. 710. The identification still holds the field. As Nannarāja ruled during the last quarter of the seventh century, it is quite likely that his grandfather Gōvinda, appearing in all his epigraphs flourished during the first half of the seventh century.⁴

Assuming that in about A.D. 610 when he invaded the country north of Bhīmā, Gōvinda was twenty-five years old and that he died in about A.D. 655 having enjoyed the full Biblical span of three score years and ten, there is still room left for a reign of 25 years of his son and successor Svāmīrāja, who in about A.D. 680 was succeeded by his own son Nannarāja.⁵

About the identification of Āppāyika Dr. Krishna agrees⁶ with Fleet in ascribing a Rāshtrakūṭa lineage to this chief, for the reason that the territories of Āppāyika extended to the north of river Bhīmā, which a century before were in the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭa Avidhēya of Mānapura house. Dr. Krishna further hazarded the conjecture that Āppāyika was a great grandson of this Avidhēya. For this purpose in between Āppāyika and Avidhēya, he inserted two generations of Rāshtrakūṭa kings appearing in the

Kauthem grant⁷ of the Chalukya Vikramāditya V, namely Kṛishṇa and his son Indra into the genealogy of the Mānapura house.

However, the known facts of history go against such an identification. If the territory 'north of the river Bhīmā, belonged to Āppāyika, as Dr. Krishna would have us believe, where comes the question of its conquest by Āppāyika? In point of fact we are explicitly told in the Aihole inscription⁸ that Āppāyika and Gōvinda came to conquer "the country north of the river Bhīmā". True, the region did once belong to the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura but that was a hundred years before, and when in about A.D. 610 Āppāyika attempted to conquer it, the region had been in the Chalukya possession at least since A.D. 602, when Mangalēśa consequent to his victory over the Kaḷachuri Buddharāja annexed it to the Chalukya kingdom.⁹ Moreover, no successors of Avidhēya and no ancestors of Āppāyika are known to history and therefore Dr. Krishna's suggestion that Krishna and Indra mentioned in the Kauthem charter were son and grandson of Avidheya is a mere conjecture, which cannot be accepted not only because there is no historical evidence in its support but also because it goes against the established facts of history connected with this region.

As early as 1941, Dr. Moraes suggested¹⁰ the possibility of Āppāyika being a descendant of Nirihullaka, feudatory of the Kaḷachuri king Samkaragaṇa, stationed somewhere around the present district of Baroda.

The discovery of the Nāgardhana plates of A.D. 573¹¹ has revealed the name of a *Pilupati* or 'chief of elephant corps', named Māllāyika who was a member of a corporation of the elephant riders, which made a grant of land in a village located in the Nagpur District. He seems to have been a subordinate to Svāmīrāja to whose reign the grant refers. As suggested by Dr. Mirashi,¹² this Svāmīrāja was probably a subordinate of the Kaḷachuris under Kṛishṇarāja who

ruled from A.D. 550 to A.D. 575 and Saṁkaragaṇa who ruled from A.D. 575 to A.D. 600.

A reference to Saṁkhēḍa plates of Saṁkaragaṇa shows¹³ that the aforementioned Nirihullaka was a *Mahāpilupati*, 'the great commander of elephant corps'. On the other hand the Aihole inscription specifically mentions that Āppāyika and Gōvinda approached with their elephant corps.

Piecing together the testimony of the Saṁkhēḍa plates of Saṁkaragaṇa (belonging to the last quarter of the sixth century), the Nāgardhana plates of Svāmīrāja dated A.D. 573 and the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634, we have the names of three chiefs Nirihullaka, Māllāyika and Āppāyika. Significantly enough all of them are connected with the 'elephants', the first two being the chiefs of the elephant corps. Furthermore, the names of the last two Māllāyika and Āppāyika end with the suffix 'ika', a phonetic semblance which may suggest some family relationship between Āppāyika and Māllāyika, the former probably being a younger relative of Māllāyika.

The Aihole inscription does not leave us in doubt as to the result of this encounter but states explicitly that of the two 'one in battle through his (Pulakēśin's) armies came to know the taste of fear, while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him'. Dr. Sircar thinks¹⁴ that Āppāyika was repulsed and Gōvinda was won over by the Chalukya monarch. In proceeding in this manner, Pulakēśin seems to have pursued the time honoured counsel of Kauṭilya,¹⁵ the political wizard of ancient India, when one was confronted by two enemies, to make friends with one while crushing the other. With his strength considerably reduced by Gōvinda's defection, Āppāyika could be no match to the Chalukya forces, and was obliged to hit a precipitated retreat. True to his word Pulakēśin rewarded Gōvinda by appointing him as a Rāshṭrakūṭa or governor at Achalāpura, present Ellichpur in the Amaravati District

The family of Govinda appears to have continued in the services of the Chalukyas at least during the next two generations, for the feudatory status of the latter's grandson Nannarāja under Pulakēśin's grandson, Vinayāditya is attested by the epigraphs of Nannarāja discovered at Sangalooda,¹⁶ dated A.D. 693 and Multai,¹⁷ dated A.D. 710 where in deference to his Chalukya overlords he refrains from assuming imperial title.

II

On the basis of a hero stone discovered at Gaddemane in the Shimoga District of Karnataka, Drs. Shamasastri,¹⁸ Srikantasastri¹⁹ and Nihar Ranjan Ray²⁰ surmised that Harsha advanced as far as Mysore in the South. The inscription inscribed in the old Kannada characters of the seventh century A.D. runs thus:²¹

“ Be it well ! while Silādaitya, the light of the quarters the most powerful and a thorn in the way of the bravest ascended the throne of his empire, Pettani Satyāṅka, a brave soldier capable of destroying enemies in the battle-field, pierced through the thick of destroying enemies in the battle-field, pierced through the thick of the battle with the brave Bēḍara Rāya, so as to cause frightfulness to Mahēndra and reached the abode of *Svarga*. Whosoever preserves the field of crops..... ” etc.

These three scholars hold the opinion that Silāditya of the inscription represents Harshavardhana who ruled from A.D. 606 to 667 and Pallava Mahēndravarman I who is assigned to A.D. 600 to 638—and deduced the conclusion that Harsha advanced as far south as the Shimoga District.

Looking for evidence in support of the southward expansion of Harsha, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray²² thought he had discovered it in Sanskrit couplet ascribed to Mayūra, the

supposed father-in-law of Bāṇa, the court poet of Harsha. In this couplet a king who is not mentioned by name is credited with the conquest of Kuntala, Choḷa and Kāñchi. But Dr. Ray should have gone further to see if his claim on behalf of Harsha was in consonance with the known acts of History. To begin with, in all Indian sources Harsha is referred to as Harshavardhana and never as Śilāditya. True, the Chinese pilgrim Huien Tsang refers²³ to Harsha by the latter name. But he explicitly states that Harsha's southward advance was checked by Pulakēśin II²⁴ whose kingdom he visited sometime in A.D. 641. Harsha's invasion of the south could have taken place after the Chinese pilgrim left his court. By then Mahēndravarman was no more there and it was his son Narasimhavarman I that was on the Pallava throne.²⁵

Dr. B. A. Saletore²⁶ while he rightly regarded the evidence of the couplet ascribed to Mayūra as 'praise in conventional style of a poet given to punning without any reference to historical accuracy', suggests the identification of Śilāditya of the viragal with the Valabhi king Dēvabhaṭṭa, who according to this scholar also was called Śilāditya. The suggestion, however, is unacceptable, for Dēvabhaṭṭa, as is well known from the Valabhi inscriptions, was never called Śilāditya.²⁷

Dr. Majumdar dismissed the claim of southern conquest made on behalf of Harsha and guessed²⁸ that of Pulakēśin II who is known to have been a contemporary Śilāditya of the virgal may be Śryāśraya Śilāditya, a grandson of Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-81) and his son Vinayāditya (A.D. 681-96).

Miss Virji rejects²⁹ Dr. Majumdar's identification of Śilāditya with Śryāśraya Śilāditya for the reason that he was merely an officer of the Chalukyas and had no throne of his own, leave alone the throne of an empire. The word 'empire', however, is a gratuitous addition on the part of

the translator³⁰ and the sentence be better translated simply as 'Śīlāditya ascended the throne'. But he was not mere officer as Miss Virji would have us believe. For, we have at least three grants issued in his own capacity as *Yuvarāja* which range from A.D. 668-69 to A.D. 691 namely the Madagapora plates³¹ assigned to A.D. 668-69, the Navsari plates³² of A.D. 671 and the Surat grant³³—all found in the Surat District of Gujarat. It would appear from this that he was in charge of a campaign when the necessity arose with the invasion of the Chalukya dominion by the Pallavas under Mahēndravarmān II.

Nor is it possible to agree with Dr. Sircar³⁴ when he remarks that Śīlāditya's own charters do not indicate any way that he was a subordinate of his father or of the Chalukya emperor of Badāmi, but, on the other hand, show that his political status was similar to that of his father. His dependance on a higher power is evident from the fact that throughout the period of 25 years he never assumed a higher title.³⁵

Miss Virji's identification³⁶ of Śīlāditya with Dēvabhaṭṭa's son of the same name, who in the inscription of his son Śīlāditya II (A.D. 658-85) is described as the lord of the Vindhya mountains, is also unacceptable. For it may be contended that the very reasons which Miss Virji put forward for not accepting Dr. Majumdar's proposition apply with greater force to her own suggestions. She herself agrees as indicated by the genealogical chart given in her work, that neither Dēvabhaṭṭa nor his son Śīlāditya actually ascended the throne of Valabhi.

The Mahēndra of the viragal could not be Pallava Mahēndra I, for the Śīlāditya who fought against could have only done so in defence of the Chalukyas against an enemy who was able to overrun the territory as far north as the present Shimoga District which is at a distance of more than 150 miles from the northern boundary of the Pallavas. The only contemporary of Mahēndra I (A.D. 600-638)

bearing this name is prince Śīlāditya of the Maitraka family who is described as, 'the lord of Vindhya Mountains', in the inscription of his son Śīlāditya II (A.D. 658-685). We find him mentioned as *dūtaka* upto A.D. 638 in an inscription of Dhruvasēna II³⁷ who had transferred allegiance to Harsha, and therefore, could not have been on friendly terms with the Chalukyas.

Accordingly we should look for Mahēndra and Śīlāditya of the Gaddemane Vīragal elsewhere, and the only contemporaries of these names that present themselves are Pallava Mahēndravarmān II (A.D. 668-670)³⁸ and Śrīyāśraya Śīlāditya (A.D. 668-691), i.e., the reign of Vikramāditya I. The former was the son of Pallava Narasiṃhavarman (A.D. 638-668) and the latter was a ruling prince of the Chalukya house. Mahēndravarmān II had but a short reign and is given the conventional praise of having enforced the sacred law of the castes and orders in the Kuram grant³⁹ of his son Paramēśvaravarman I. Some of the epigraphs like Vēlurpālayam plates⁴⁰ omit his name altogether. The events mentioned in the Gaddemane Vīragal do not, therefore, relate an episode of Harsha-Pallava conflict but are part of a prolonged Chalukya-Pallava conflict extending over several generations and more than a century.

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ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE BADĀMI CHALUKYAS

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Human achievements find their marked expression in two fundamental aspects, namely, the political and the social. The political life of a people is based on the administrative organisation under which they are ruled. It is also the foundation of order, justice and fair play which are the essential prerequisites of a contented and well organised society. Hence, literature, religion, art and science, etc., grow under the aegis of a well organised and stable administration. Viewed from this point, the administrative organisation under the Chalukyas of Badāmi was not only organised on sound principles of polity so as to ensure stability to the empire but also was conducive to peace and prosperity of the people. The Chalukya administration had in addition to the general characteristics certain striking features too.¹

A general observation that one could make in the existing published historical literature bearing on the Chalukyas of Badāmi is that it is dealt with only in a brief section of South Indian history volumes. Our thanks, however, are due to scholars like Dr. Fleet, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Dr. P. B. Desai, Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, Mr. Venkoba Rao, Dr. Mahalingam, Prof. R. S. Panchamukhi and others who have brought out some of the distinguishing features of Chalukya administration. The argument that is generally given for not making a detailed study of the administrative organisation under the early Chalukyas, is paucity of materials affording the details. But this argument is not entirely true. For, the Chalukya dominions, if not in the initial years of its foundation, at the height of its glory extended, as testified by epigraphs of Pulakēśi² and Vikramāditya I³ from Nasik in the north to the Kaveri in the south and from the western coast to Guntur and Nellore Districts of modern Andhra Pradesh.

The dominions had been divided into convenient administrative units. Some of the territorial units were under the rule of the relatives of the royal family, Governors appointed by the king, autonomous allies and feudatories. Moreover, notwithstanding the rivalry for establishment of supremacy over entire southern India between the Pallavas of Kāñchi and the Chalukyas of Badāmi and the inevitable wars, the Chalukya kings gave great encouragement to promote religion, art and literature. The poetical compositions of Ravi-kīrti, Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the temples of Aihole, Paṭṭadakal and Mahākūṭa and the caves of Badāmi are but a few instances in point. The kings issued royal charters. They also maintained an efficient army and navy too. The term '*Karnāṭabala*' standing for the Chalukya army was continued by the Rāshtrakūṭa kings also. Hence the Chalukyas could not have carried on the daily administration without making adequate administrative arrangements. Therefore, we can conclude that the administrative traditions of the Kadambas of Banavāsi whose inheritors were the Badāmi Chalukyas continued and improved the administrative traditions which were later on perfected in the period of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

For a satisfactory reconstruction of the Chalukya administration, there are no other materials than the inscriptions and the copper plates as the primary source of information, corroborated in some respects by the available literary and numismatic sources. But as far as availability of epigraphs are concerned, the materials were all in the nature of engravings on stone and metal. The history of evolution of Kannada epigraphy indicates that engraving on such materials for the sake of recording events began in about the 4th century A.D. The art of engraving developed through centuries and attained its stage of perfection by about the 10th century A.D. Therefore, many of the traditions, practices and names of official functionaries with details of their duties and powers, etc., which would normally have been recorded are

not forthcoming to a point of satisfaction. The fact that old Kannada script was being developed in its adaptations from cave alphabet should not miss our notice while taking stock of availability of epigraphical sources on Chalukyas administration.

The epigraphs that are luckily available do not contain much direct information about the governmental and administrative organisation. Absence of an elaborate and systematic account in the available material need not lead one to conclude that the Chalukya kingdom had no proper organisation of Government. An empire, first of its kind and of great magnitude exerting its energies to weld the Mauryas, Latas, several other minor kingdoms as well as the entire tracks of Kannada-speaking areas into one political framework and also remain supreme for nearly 250 years could not have functioned without a satisfactory organisation of government and administration. Moreover, political conditions of the times in south India must have demanded such an administrative set up as to enable the Chalukyas to take decisions, speedily, particularly on matters of defence and foreign affairs, affecting the very existence of the empire. Again the establishment of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire after the disappearance of the early Chalukyas, the existence of the kingdom of the Kadambas of Banavāsi (with its four divisions,⁴ earlier indicate that although Karnataka witnessed changes in the ruling dynasties, there was a basic and common administrative structure followed by way of a general practice in Karnataka, thus indicating continuity of administrative traditions from the early Chalukyas or even the Kadambas to the period of the later Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi and Vijayanagar, with slight variations. That is the reason why the Rāshtrakūṭas could inherit a kingdom, almost intact, with a governmental and administrative machinery and thereafter introduce certain variations in the vital structure. Therefore, it may be affirmed that in the period of the Chalukyas of Badāmi there was a governmental organisation and

administrative set up to suit the exigencies and existence of the large dominions. The Chalukyas were the first to establish an extensive empire comprising vast stretches of territories. It may not be beyond the limits of probability that the kings mainly used Kannada as an administrative language, for the first time. Hence, it is true to say the Chalukya dominions represented the features of a well organised state. The early Chalukyas therefore may rightly be regarded as pioneers in the field of organising their government and administration. We may well discern in the midst of their panoramic history, the creation and development of an administrative organisation, amply bearing testimony to the application of traditions and theories of state and polity of ancient India, embodied in the works of Manu and Kautilya.⁵

Though the administrative organisation under the Chalukyas of Badāmi was not in accordance with the principles of popular Government,⁶ it was endearing to the subjects. For, the kings pursued and helped realisation of the wishes of the people. The state was a monarchy. The ministers appointed by the king were not merely the advisers to the king, but had the ability of functioning as feudatories, commanders of army, and shoulder other direct responsibilities of the State. Administration of villages was carried on by the village councils. Land tax, tax on trade (*perjunka*) formed the major items of revenue.

Administration of the Chalukya dominions was based on the practices of State-craft common in those days. As already stated, it may not be democracy in modern sense. However, it is also difficult to deny the existence on checks of royal authority. Monarchy was the form of government and all administrative powers were concentrated in the king himself. The Mahākūṭa inscription mentions that Mangalēśa was well versed in state-craft. Reference to the three powers of the king is also available in Aihole and other inscriptions. But the king's authority was not absolute.

Not only the Chalukya administration conformed to ancient Indian political traditions, but they were based on the sound principles of imperial system of the federal nature, prevalent during the period since the age of the Gupta monarchs.⁷ As the Chalukya empire was large in extent, it comprised several small and big territorial administrative units. These units were governed by feudatories and governors who were loyal to the king. They also co-operated with the king with their military and financial resources. The king was directly assisted in the discharge of administration by a council of ministers, appointed by himself. The council, other official functionaries, officers who administered justice, *maṇḍalapatis*, assemblies convened by the king and the practice of hearing the grievances of people in a befitting conventional manner—all these exerted certain amount of popular checks on royal authority. Moreover, though the laws were enforced by the kings without any kind of people's sanction, the kings generally followed the time honoured ideal of not transgressing the wishes of their subjects. The kings were also prevented from being absolute on account of not only following the above ideal,⁸ but also due to the fear of invasion by neighbouring kings and the general conditions of the age. Therefore, the Chalukya administration was of a nature which had endeared itself to the subjects, though it was not based on principles of popular government.

The Chalukyas of Badāmi had adopted the Boar (*Varāsha*) as their emblem.⁹ Tradition avers that they got this emblem from God Vishṇu himself. The banner of the dynasty was the *Pālidhvaja*¹⁰ which according to their records was the insignia of supreme dominion or overlordship.

Territorial Divisions :

For the convenience of administration, the large empire was divided into several territorial divisions. There is no conclusive evidence in the epigraphs of the early Chalukyas to say that the empire was divided on the basis of provincial

administration. But the epigraphs undoubtedly indicate the divisions of the empire into territorial divisions. These divisions were known as *vishaya*, *maṇḍala*, *dēsha*, *bhōga*, *rāshṭra*, *kampaṇa* and *grāma*.¹¹ The term *vishaya* was equivalent to the Kannada term 'nāḍu' which was in use in some parts of the empire. Chalukya epigraphs make mention of 21 territorial divisions. Like the *Chalukya vishaya*, *Naḷavāḍi vishaya*, etc. To carry on the administration of these units, there were territorial officers appointed by the king in addition to the territories of the *Sāmantas* and autonomous allies. So we may notice three distinct types of territorial divisions, namely, territorial divisions under Governors (a relative of the king or one appointed by the king), feudatories and independent allies.

The divisions were, as a general practice, denoted by the numerical suffixes. Though the exact meaning of the numerical suffixes has baffled scholars, generally, the number followed the descending order indicating the administrative units.¹² Scholars like Dr. G. S. Dixit, Dr. A. P. Karmarkar and Dr. S. H. Ritti are of the opinion that the numerical suffixes indicate the number of villages in the divisions. Dr. Fleet stating that the numbers mean the number of villages, adds that they might indicate the number of townships also. To Rice they meant the divisions in the revenue division in terms of gold coins. Dr. Altekar says that the suffixes might mean the yield or revenue of the division.¹³ Dr. D. C. Sircar feels that the suffixes are of doubtful significance. To Dr. Prannath, they mean estates. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam opines that they are either villages or revenue yielding provincial divisions.¹⁴

The village has been the smallest administrative unit throughout the ages. The general practice in those days was to signify the extent of the territorial division by placing the number of villages as the suffixes. For instance, *Puligere 300* signified that *Puligere nāḍu* as an administrative

unit comprised of three hundred villages. Similarly, the indication is that Banavāsi consisted of 12,000 villages (*Banavāsi Pannirchāsiram*). The Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II states that he claimed to have become the head of three *Mahārāshtrakas*, comprising 99,000 villages. It is generally accepted that the smaller suffixes in the case of divisions ending with names like *Khaṇḍa*, *Khēḍa*, *thāna*, *grāma*, etc., refer to the number of villages and that the bigger suffixes speak of the large size of the division, though actually not comprising the stipulated number of villages in the numerical suffixes.¹⁵

It is also generally accepted that the term '*Mahārāshtrakatraya*, (three great *Mahārāshtras*) refers to the three large divisions of the Chalukya dominions, namely, Karnataka, present Maharashtra and Konkan.

A point of interest here is that the suffixes of prominent divisions have remained almost constant, throughout the rule of several royal dynasties of Karnataka. Inscriptions belonging to several royal dynasties mention the divisions with the same numerical suffixes which shows that when a particular division was conquered and passed on to the rule of a new royal dynasty, the divisions as a whole accepted the new ruler, his administration and paid homage to him.

Council of Ministers and other Official Functionaries :

For the efficient conduct of administration and to execute the orders of the king there were several officers, besides the ministers. The king's relatives were given the prominent role of enforcing the laws and they were appointed for that purpose in different administrative divisions. For instance, Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, the brother of Pulakēśi II had been appointed as the ruler of *Vengimaṇḍala*. Similarly, the sons of Pulakēśi II—Adityavarma, Chandrāditya and Jayasimha were placed in charge of *Noḷambavāḍi* (Bellary and Kurnool regions), *Sāvantavāḍi* and Gujarat,

respectively. His youngest son, Vikramāditya I was assisting his father in close association in the administration of the region around Badāmi, the headquarters of the empire. Taking the administrative functionaries as a whole, the crown-prince occupied a position of eminence. Though as a general tradition of ancient polity, the oldest son the king alone was appointed as the crown-prince,¹⁶ there were a few exceptions. In times of emergent political conditions, if the eldest son was not able enough or incapacitated to tide over the dangerous situation for the empire and restore order and stability, any other son or relative of the ruling king was nominated as the crown-prince and to succeed him after the king's death. The instances of Mangalēśa and Vikramāditya I in the Chalukya history and those of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II in the Gupta history serve as exceptional examples.

The function of executing the king's orders—written or oral—was done by the ministers. In the case of such ministers, there seem to have been slight variation from the accepted principles of polity, expounded in the *Śukranīti* and other texts on polity. The ministers were not merely the trusted persons of the king to give advice and also to deliberate with the king on matters of state policies, but held the responsible offices of feudatories, Governors, and Commanders. Probably there was a *Pañcha*, i.e., *Pradhāna* council = comprising the *mantri*, *Purōhita*, *Yuvarāja*, *daṇḍadhikāri*.¹⁷ But there were other types of ministers, besides the above. Among them, the most prominent functionary was the premier and the *Mahāsandhi Vigrāhika*, i.e., the chief minister and the High Minister for war and peace or foreign affairs, respectively. The records of the Chalukyas are replete with names like Rāma Puṇyavallabha,¹⁸ etc. Another important functionary whose mention is made in a number of Chalukya records is the *Lēkhaka*.¹⁹ Besides these, there was a revenue member, known as *amātya*. Besides these high officials, there were officers of lower rank, namely, *Vishaya*-

pati, *bhōgapati*, *Rāshtrakūṭa*, and *Grāmakūṭa* whose main duty was to carry on the administration of the regions entrusted to them.

Popular Assemblies :

In smaller administrative units or sub-divisions like the *nāḍu* and the *grāma*, there were popular assemblies which assisted the king in the discharge of administration of that local areas. Such popular assemblies were known as 'mahattars' or 'mahāmattara' and were invested with powers. The Lakshmēśwar inscription²⁰ of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya is an apt example of investing a popular body with powers. This record is also important as it makes mention of the eighteen *prakritis*. Such popular bodies functioned particularly in *Vishaya*, *dēsha*, and *maṇḍala*. The villages had their assemblies. These assemblies consisted of heads of all families in the village. The elected heads of the families formed the *Mahājana* of the town or city. These popular bodies rendered valuable services to the king in administration of charities, protection and promotion of education, following the orders of the king, mobilisation of the militia in times of necessity, public festivals, fairs, 'etc. The head of the village assembly the *Grāmakūṭa* was the *Gauḍa* who received all help from the *mahājanas* in the discharge of his functions. Even the *Vishayapati*, *maṇḍalapati* and other officers were assisted by the *mahattars*. Conducting educational institutions, rest-houses, charitable institutions, upkeep of temples, supervision of tanks and such other functions of a special nature were entrusted to the popular assemblies.

A special reference has to be made to the local functionaries like the *Paṭṭanasvāmi*²¹ or *Paṭṭanasetṭi*²² who was the head of the town or city. There also existed in the Chalukya period the Five Hundred Svāmis of *Ayyāvoḷe*, who are also popular as *virabānanjus*, or the Guild of the Five Hundred. This body exerted much influence on the

king, king's officers and in addition carried on their profession of trading in jewellery etc. With defensive weapons and also a sceptre and a royal charter, they successfully discharged diplomatic functions and even acted as intermediaries between the kings in order to avoid wars or hatred between kings and thus bringing about peace and friendly environment in the dominions.

Taxation :

Land revenue in those days formed the backbone of the State's income. However, it varied according to the type of land and its produce. It was paid in kind. It was known by the terms '*bhāgakara*' or *vaḍḍarāvula*.²³ In the collection of this tax periodical enquiries were made and then the revenue was fixed. The State's share was the normal share of one-sixth of the produce. But it was not always followed in practice. In times of war, or drain on the royal exchequer, taxes were increased. Land-revenue formed 20% of the empire's income in the Rāshtrakūṭa period and probably in the Chalukya period, it must have been still higher.²⁴ Next to land revenue, tax on trade of articles known as (*perjunka*) formed another primary source of income.²⁵ It was collected in the form of cash and in some regions, in kind. Besides these, there were taxes for maintenance of army, ownership of houses, duties (octroi) as well as excise duties also.

Military Organisation :

The Karnataka army was well known for sturdy soldiers who were brave and loyal to their master. Kings like Kīrtivarma I, Pulakēśi II, Vikramāditya I and Vinayāditya were great warriors themselves. They could therefore extend and build a large dominion from the Narmadā to Kāvērī and maintain their supremacy. They held victorious military camps (*Vijayaskandāvāra*)²⁶ on the borders of the empire or enemy territories. The soldierly spirit

of the army and even the common people have been adequately borne out by the testimony of Huien-Tsang²⁷ and the inscription of Kappe Arabhaṭṭa.²⁸ The soldiers were vigorous, disciplined, having endurance and exhibiting loyalty. The Samangad inscription²⁹ of Dantidurga, the founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa power, says that the term '*Karnāṭa bala*' standing for the Chalukya army was continued to be used even in the Rāshtrakūṭa period because, the army had earned fame in all quarters of the country, by conquering the neighbouring powerful rulers of Kāñchi, Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Choḷa, Śrī Harsha and Vajrata and infusing threat into their minds. The Chalukya army was held in high repute and the army comprised of born soldiers. Even the kings of Bengal employed soldiers from Karnataka. This shows how the *Karnāṭa bala* was renowned from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

Soldiers and generals were recruited from different regions of the Empire. Every village had a militia. Almost every youth received military training. Next to the profession of agriculture, the profession of being a soldier was held in high esteem. Several of the people belonging to the lower classes today—*Kuruba*, *haṭagara*, *bēda*, *holeya*, *taḷavāra*—once upon a time had earned fame as great soldiers and defenders of the empire.³⁰ They constituted the military race on which the peace, order and stability of the empire depended much in those days of frequent warfare. The military comprised of the elephants, horses and infantry. The bravery and soldierly virtues of the people as a whole are testified by the account of Huien-Tsang and the inscription of Kappe Arabhaṭṭa. The fact that Mangalēśa led an invasion on the island of Rēvati and that Pulakēśi II sailed up to *Puri* and led an invasion indicates the maintenance of a navy in those days.³¹

The diplomatic relations of the Chalukya kings and how their fame had even reached beyond the borders of India is well known as testified by the fresco paintings of

Ajanta,³² which depicts the Chalukya monarch Pulakēśi II receiving the Persian embassy and also by the account of the Persian historian, Tabari.³³

Administration of justice and maintenance of law and order:

Disputes arising in villages and rural tracts were decided by the *Grāmapati* with the help of the village council.³⁴ This was the institution of the village panchayats or *Dharmasabhas* which exerted predominant influence in society till very recent years and now revived in the form of 'Panchayat raj'. The Council had the power to decide petty cases and award punishments like fine, etc. If the decision of the Council was not acceptable the parties to the dispute had the right to appeal to higher officers or to the king in his court. But such occasions were rare. The decisions of the village councils and the powerful influence it exerted helped maintenance of law and order in that part of the empire where the council functioned. Any one who did not conform to the decisions of the council had to be prepared to undergo further ordeals like being exiled from the native home. Cases involving severe crimes were tried by the Governor of the territorial divisions or the king in his court.

The village council held its trial in public institutions like the temples and the *chāvaḍis*. The decisions of the council received the support of higher officials and if necessary, the king also.

Life and property in the villages were entrusted to the care of the *grāmapati*. He was assisted by the guardians of the village or talavaras.³⁵ They were also known as 'haḷabaru'³⁶ in some Kannada speaking areas. They investigated thefts, defended the boundaries of the empire, fort, tank, temple, *chāvaḍi*, etc. These were the primary duties of the *Grāmarakshakas* (village guardians). They carried out their duties ably. Every city had a city

Police force. This department was supervised by a superior Official.

In conclusion, we may say that the Chalukyas of Badāmi are indebted to some extent to the Kadambas of Banavāsi in their procedure of organising their administrative system. The latter were their immediate predecessors. They must have set up an administrative system to suit their kingdom. Their kingdom comprised of four divisions in the north, east, west and south including the present districts of Shimoga, North Kanara, Dharwar and Belgaum. So, a system of territorial administration had become a necessity in addition to that of a central authority. The kings and princes of the family must have received training in the art of government. Many of the princes were known for their scholarly pursuits. Some of the other important features of their provincial and local administration included supervision over officials, transfers of Governors, organisation of towns and the *nāḍus* or districts.

The political traditions and method of administration must have had their impact on the Chalukya government. The Chalukyas, like their predecessors, aspired to establish supremacy over a greater part of the country. They organised a mighty military and naval force for defence of the kingdom and waging wars with their neighbours, when inevitable. Again, the Chalukyas issued a large number of charters and made gifts of land which point out to the existence of a central office for engraving and preserving records—official and private. The office of the *Akshapaṭa-lika* or the *Mahākshapaṭa-lika* in the contemporary dominion of Harsha deserve a mention here as a corroborative evidence for the Chalukyas also. Several kings after Pula-kēṣi II took titles of distinction and designations indicating their supreme authority. The Chalukyas of Badāmi were placed in a better position than the Kadambas to inherit administrative elements and improve them to a large extent. These elements were subsequently absorbed in the govern-

mental machinery of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. As the Chalukyas were the immediate inheritors of the large and wealthy kingdom of the Kadambas—stretching from the Kāvērī to the Krishṇā comprising the central part of the Deccan table land, they adopted their political traditions and later improved upon it to suit the needs of their empire.

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LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND GUILDS IN EARLY CHALUKYA TIMES

G. S. DIKSHIT

In this paper, it is proposed first to indicate the part played by the guild in local administration of the Early Chalukya time and then to say a few words about the most important of the Early Chalukya guilds, viz., the Ayyāvoḷe guild. Students of the guilds in ancient Indian history are aware of their association with local administration in three ways. (1) They received gifts from donors for specified purposes and fulfilled the donors' wishes. They also received payments on behalf of the local bodies. In other words, they acted as trustees and bankers both to the public as well as to the local bodies. (2) They took direct part in local administration along with other associations in their towns. (3) Because of this interest in local affairs, they were associated with the administration of the districts as illustrated by the Dāmōdarpur inscription of the Gupta times.

For the last category, viz., the association of guilds in district administration, we do not get examples in Early Chalukyan times. We get many such instances in the later history of South India. Hence, we need not concern ourselves with this aspect of guild history here. On the other hand, for the first and second categories, we have a few illustrations.

The Lakshmēśvar inscription of prince Vikramāditya¹ contains examples of guilds acting as bankers both to the local body as well as to the public in Puligere. On behalf of the local body, the guild was to receive the fines for thefts and minor delinquencies and for the ten offences and likewise what is known as the property of the childless persons. All these were to be paid to the guild in the month of *Kārtika*.

This guild must have been the most important guild of the place and therefore, must have been known as the guild. No doubt it kept this money on behalf of the local administration for its expenses.

There was another guild in Puligeṛe known as the guild of braziers which was to receive payment from citizens for conducting a festival according to a particular schedule based on the ability of the tax-payers. So much for the guilds receiving payments on behalf of the local body or for specified public purposes.²

Now we turn to note the guilds' part in local administration. The Lakshmēśvar inscription mentioned earlier and one or two Aihole inscriptions throw light on this subject. The former says that it was a new constitution given to Puligeṛe by the heir-apparent Vikramāditya. The preamble says that the constitution was granted by the prince to the *Mahājanas*, the *Nagaras* and the Eighteen *Prakritis*. Here the word *Nagara* refers both to the guild as well as to the towns-men. As in other countries in mediaeval times in India, also, the town organisation and the guild organisation were close to one another. When the merchants attended to trade they acted as guilds and when they attended to town administration, they acted on behalf of the citizens. Their leader *Paṭṭanaseṭṭi* or *Nagarseṭh* was both the mayor and the head of the guild. In Puligeṛe, the *Nagaras* were associated with the *Mahājanas* or scholars and the eighteen *Prakritis* or the people as a whole. Thus the town administration was in the hands of the *Mahajanas*, the *Nagaras* and the rest.

Similar was the constitution of Aihole. An inscription³ of this place, assigned to the reign of Vikramāditya II (733-44) has a reference to its *Mahājanas* and *Nagaras* as administrators. This is confirmed and more information about the Aihole administration given in an undated inscription⁴ of the Early Chalukya times. It refers to a gift by the Five-

hundred *Chaturvēdis* (*Mahājanas*), the eight *Nagaras* and the hundred and twenty *Uralis* or *ūru*. From these two records, it appears that towns like Puligere and Aihole had a town council consisting of the *Mahājanas*, the *Nagaras* and the common people.

The part played by the leader of the merchants on town administration is also hinted in the *Lakshmēśvar* inscription which contains a reference to the government of the *Seṭṭis*, who may be taken to be the precursors of the *Paṭṭanaseṭṭis*.

The Guild of Ayyāvoḷe

Among all the South Indian guilds, the so-called Ayyāvoḷe guild of the ninth and later centuries was the most famous. The earlier view with regard to this guild was that there was one vast corporation or federation of merchant guilds with its headquarters at Ayyāvoḷe and with its branches all over South India. It was even compared to the East India Company, which began in a small way, but later became a big empire. The Ayyāvoḷe guild was also said to be similar, though of course, it did not develop into an empire. Its empire was said to be that of commerce.

In recent years, thanks to the researches of a number of scholars like Doctors N. Venkataramanayya,⁵ K. Sundaram⁶ and M. Chidanandamurthy,⁷ we now have a better idea of the Ayyāvoḷe guild or guilds. The earlier theory of one Ayyāvoḷe guild is given up because in Ayyāvoḷe itself there are no inscriptions which refer to its being the headquarters of a vast commercial organisation. Not that the Ayyāvoḷe guilds did not form groups. They did, but these were smaller like that of the Penugonḍa Vaiśyas,⁸ a league of four city-guilds in Belgaum District⁹ and a league of eight city-guilds in Dharwar District.¹⁰ All these are later happenings. But what appears to have taken place in Ayyāvoḷe in the days of the Chalukyas of Badāmi are certain

developments which help us to understand the later history of the Ayyāvoḷe guilds and their true nature.

Fleet thought that an inscription¹¹ in the Ladkhan temple which he assigned to about 800 A.D. contained the earliest reference to the Ayyāvoḷe guild. In this inscription, it is said that a grant was given by Bennamma Somayājī to the five hundred (who constituted) the great body of the *Chaturvēdis* of the excellent capital Āryapura, i.e., Aihole. Dr. Chidanandamurthy¹² has correctly pointed out that the Five-hundred, mentioned in this inscription, refers to the *Chaturvēdis* whereas the Ayyāvoḷe guild consisted of the merchants and therefore, this cannot be said to be the earliest reference to the Ayyāvoḷe guild.

However, there are other and earlier inscriptions which do refer to guilds of merchants in Aihole. There is one which belongs to Vikramāditya I or II which according to its reconstruction by the epigraphists refers to a *Śrēṇi* or guild. We have already seen that in an inscription assigned to the period 733-47 A.D.,¹³ we have a reference to the *Nagaras* in the expression *Rāja Śrāvitam Mahājanamum Naka(ga) ra Śrāvitam*. This is one of the earliest references both to the *Mahājanas* as well as the *Nagara* guild of Aihole. Finally, in another inscription¹⁴ of the times of the Chalukyas of Badāmi, there is mention of a gift by the Five-hundred *Mahājanas* along with others to the goddess *Durgā Bhagavatī*, the patron deity of the members of the Ayyāvoḷe guilds.

Thus, in Early Chalukya times, we have all the materials or ingredients which connect the Ayyāvoḷe guild of later times with its earlier supposed ancestor. There was a guild or *Śrēṇi*. There were the *Nagaras*—another guild. There were the five hundred *Mahājanas* who gave the name Ayyāvoḷe five hundred to their town and finally the *Durgā Bhagavatī* was already an object of worship. The later eulogy or *praśasti* of the Ayyāvoḷe or *Vīra Baṇaṇju* merchants incorpo-

rated all these elements. These *praśastis* had certain common features which may be analysed as follows:

1. The introduction contains the qualities of the guild members.
2. They claimed to be lords of Ayyāvoḷe—the best of all towns, *i.e.*, Ayyāvoḷe *Puravarādhiśvaras*.
3. They were worshippers of Bhagavatī, *i.e.*, Bhagavati *Labdha-vara prasādaru*.

In the Early Chalukya times, this eulogy did not exist, though some of its parts did. Now the questions which arise are why did merchants all over Mediaeval South India claim for hundreds of years that they came from Ayyāvoḷe and further how far was the claim true.

Since the answers to these questions were found in Early Chalukya times, it is relevant to consider them here. The analogy of the *Viśvakarma* community of Andhra will explain why the merchant community in Mediaeval South India traced its ancestry to Ayyāvoḷe.¹⁵ There was a famous line of architects who built temples in and around Pemdota in Palnad Taluk in Guntur District. This temple-building activity began in the Early Chalukya times. The master-architect in this school was one Kalagarābharaṇāchārya. He and his disciples built a number of temples in Palnad Taluk. This activity gave birth to a line of *ācharyas*. So much so Pemdota in Palnad was considered to be the birth place of *Viśvakarmas* not only of Andhra, but sometimes of Karnataka also.

Aihoḷe must have become the birth place of merchants in their *praśastis* or eulogies similarly. From being an abode of scholars and religious people (the Ladkhan inscription explains its importance as having arisen to its being a collection of worthy people, *viz.*, the great body of *Chaturvēdins*), and also a capital, it became a great centre of architecture,

as can be seen from the scores of temples in this place. It must, in the process, also have become a commercial centre. Probably, its merchants spread themselves all over South India in later times. Like Pemdōta *Viṣvakarmas*, the Ayyāvoḷe merchants must have made a name for themselves for fair-dealing, philanthropy and all that is enshrined in what they called as *Vira Baṇaṇju Dharma* or the code of fair conduct among merchants. Later merchants claimed that they came from Ayyāvoḷe in order to appropriate for themselves the goodwill established by the earlier Ayyāvoḷe merchants and just as these real Ayyāvoḷe merchants claimed that they came from Ayyāvoḷe 500 and worshipped Durgā Bhagavatī, their followers also did the same and in course of time a suitable eulogy was composed by their poets.

Finally, one more suggestion, which may be considered less plausible than the earlier one is offered here to explain, why the later merchants called themselves as Five-hundred. Here the analogies of places whose names are Fifty *Okkalu* or sixty *Okkalu* may be taken. These places got the name because fifty or sixty families first inhabited these villages, just as Ayyāvoḷe was first inhabited by Five-hundred *Mahājanas*. People who came from towns called fifty *Okkalu* or sixty *Okkalu* called themselves as belonging to fifty or or sixty *Okkalu*. Sometimes the term *Okkalu* was dropped and the people were said to belong to either fifty or sixty. In the same way, the merchants who claimed to have come from Ayyāvoḷe 500 either called themselves as Ayyāvoḷe or Ayyāvoḷe 500 or merely Five hundred. We have an example of this happening a century after the downfall of the Early Chalukyas. In an inscription from Soratur (Dharwar District) dated 867-68, we have the mention of a gift by the Five-hundred, who are merchants. This is one of the earliest instance of merchants calling themselves by this number. There are some who think that in Ayyāvoḷe itself there must have been five-hundred merchants. But there is no proof for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from a study of the eulogies or *praśastis* of the merchants of mediaeval South India is that all such *praśastis* or *sthaḷa mahātmyas* were not entirely imaginary and that they were based on a substratum of truth and that it is worth our while to find out such substratum in all such *praśastis* or *sthaḷa mahātmyas*.

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SOME ASPECTS OF VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI

DR. A. V. VENKATA RATNAM

The purpose of this paper is to focus attention on some aspects of village administration under the Chalukyas of Badāmi, and bring out some of its special features. The first part gives in outline the organisation and working of the village assembly, and the second part refers to the conclusions which emerge from our study.

The village which was the lowest territorial unit was the pivot of administration in the Western Chalukya State. It was an important centre of social life, and occupied a unique position in the economy of the State.

Village assembly existed under the Western Chalukyas. Many terms are used in inscriptions to denote the village assembly, such as *Okkalu*, *Mahājanas*, *Halaru*, *Hadinenṭujāti*, *Samudāya*,^{*} *Samūha*, *Praje*, etc. The *Okkalu* and the *Mahājanas* stood for the heads of the households, and the other terms appear to have included all the inhabitants of the village in the assembly. An inscription from Badāmi of about the eighth Century A.D. refers to the two thousand members of the *Mahāchaturvēdi Samudāya* of Vātāpi.¹ Several inscriptions from Karnataka prove that the number of the *Mahājanas* was very large, sometimes 200, sometimes 400 to 500, and sometimes 1002. Inscriptions of the Chalukyas afford information regarding the existence and functioning of the *Mahājans* and also of the *Agrahāras*. Regarding the qualifications for membership of the *Mahājanas* were concerned, the Lakkundi inscription states that they were to be good and respectable householders known for their character and incalculable merit, skilled in arts and attained fame for generosity. It may be inferred that all respectable householders were members of the village

assembly. The assemblies of the *Mahājans* were in existence in Karnataka and its neighbourhood from the sixth century A.D. and the Ganga inscriptions of the sixth century A.D. are the earliest references to village assemblies in Karnataka.

The Village Executive

As the village assembly had a large strength it was obliged to choose an executive body to carry on the administration of the village. Inscriptions throw light on the village executive. The village headman looked after the village administration. He directed the village Government. In the earlier times he was known as the *Grāmaṇi* and the *Arthaśāstra* gives ample evidence of his prominent role in village administration. Different names were given to him in different parts of India. In North India, he was called *Grāmika*, in Eastern Deccan *numuṇḍa*, and in Karnataka *Gāvūṇḍa*. There was a headman for each village and the office was hereditary. For example, under the Western Chalukyas and also under the Kalachuris and the Yadavas, the headship of the Manigavalli *agrahāra* continued in the same family. As the village assembly had a large strength, it had to choose an executive body to take care of the village administration. In the Tamil Country, the village Government was carried on by sub-committees of the *Sabhā*. Each Committee was set up for a specific purpose. Experience and high qualifications of the residents of the village were the basis of membership. Government officers were included in the Committees as members. Election of members to various Committees was made by drawing lots. Candidates charged with dereliction of duties or the neglect of duty concerning public funds could not contest the elections. But division of the village council into sub-committees was not known in Karnataka. Inscriptions are silent on this point. We also do not come across the system of election that prevailed under the Cholas or election as is understood.

In this connection, Altekar observes, "It would appear that the village *Mahājanas* of Karnatak used to make only informal arrangements for the discharge of these various duties and responsibilities through their executive council, which is seen to consist of sometimes three and sometimes of five members. The headman provided the link between the people of the village and the Central Government. He was remunerated by rent-free land and certain dues in kind. He was the leader of the village militia. His functions included among other things, the maintenance of records, supervising the work of the village accountant and looking after the correspondence with the district authorities."

Relations of the Central Government with the Local Assembly

The Lakshmēśvar pillar inscription² throws light on the relations of the Central Government with the local assembly at Puligere. It establishes the fact that for the kingdom, the assembly was indispensable. It is also evidence of the fact that the assembly had great confidence in the Central Government. The inscription states that *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya granted a constitution to the *Mahājanas* of the town of Lakshmēśvar (Puligere). It also records the mutual obligations and rights of royal authorities and of the *Mahājanas*. It brings out the relation between the royal officers and the municipality. It states "the king's officers are to protect those of the houses that are untenanted". The village headman was to receive directions from the *Mahājanas* and carry out their orders. The Adur inscription mentions that a certain *Gāmuṇḍa* whose name is lost, saw to the construction of a *Jinālaya* and got a *dānaśāla* also attached to it for the maintenance of which a gift of 25 *nivartanas* of land was made by the king.³ The inscription uses the words *Gāmuṇḍa* and the *Goḍigēr*. *Gāmuṇḍa* refers to the headman.

According to the Chalukya inscriptions, the *Mahā-chaturvidyā Samudāya* had the direct control of the city of

Vātāpi which was composed of 2000 members.⁴ According to the Badāmi inscription the *agrahāra* was said to have specialized in ‘*Chaturdaśa Vidyā*’ as the epithet ‘*Chaturdaśavidyā Palakshita*’ signifies. In the Rashtrakuta inscriptions also *Chaturvidya Samudāyas* are mentioned. But in the Badāmi inscription it is called *Mahāchaturvidya Samudāya*. Whether this represents a special enlightened Council, it is difficult to say. The Councils of Vedic scholars had control of their respective villages. The Badāmi pillar inscription in the Jambulinga temple records that the 2000 members of the *Mahāchaturvidyā Samudāya* of the victorious city of Vātāpi remitted the spoils of the cobblers of the place in favour of Nidyamāra who probably represented the cobblers. It is likely that the Council had a hand in regulations regarding the distribution of booty whenever the King returned after a Victorious Campaign. The *agrahāras* played a very prominent part in raising the social, educational and cultural standards. “They constituted Centres of learning and seats of higher education, fostered in more or less religious environments which afforded suitable opportunities for the development of character of the pupils coming into constant personal contacts with the teachers.”⁵ They played an important part in the social organization of the country. They were well organized local units enjoying a large measure of autonomy. Each *agrahāra* was under the management of its representatives who were designated as *Mahājanas*. Village administration was carried on, on the generally accepted principles of the age. The elected or nominated head of the *Mahājanas* came to be called *Ūroḍeya*.

The following conclusions emerge from our brief survey:

The village evolved into a self-contained unit with an assembly looking after the affairs of the village.

The *Gāvunḍa* or the headman was the executive head of the village. In the Western Chalukya period not all

the traditional twelve *ayagars* or village servants, are found as a body. But a majority of them are found mentioned either individually or together.

There is no evidence of the division of the village council into sub-committees.

We do not come across the system of election.

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CHALUKYAN QUEENS

C. K. NAGARAJA RAO

In this paper an attempt is made to collect all available material related to the queens and princesses of Badāmi Chalukyas who as we are aware, ruled from Badāmi, Paṭṭadakal and Aihole for over 200 years.

From historical evidences and records, one can say, with an amount of certainty that Jayasimha defeated the Rāshtrakūta Indra son of Kṛishṇa and established the Chalukya kingdom. It is said that Indra was fighting with 800 elephants in his army command.¹

Gummireddipura grant states that Durvinīta installed his daughter's son Jayasimha on the throne. By this we know that Jayasimha's mother was Ganga Durvinīta's daughter.² Some historians identify her as wife of Vallabhēśvara Jayasimha the first king of Badāmi Chalukyas. In this regard Sri C. Hayavadana Rao indicates in the geneo-logical table with a question mark that Vijayāditya and Jayasimha are one and the same.³ But Dr. S. Srikanta Sastri in his geneological tree of Western Chalukyas mentions that Vijayāditya married the daughter of Ganga Durvinīta and their son was Jayasimha Viṣṇuvardhana.⁴

Records reveal that Jayasimha met with death in his fight with Trilōchana Pallava. Jayasimha's queen (neither her name nor her family name is mentioned) who was at that time pregnant, had to flee for her life. In such a crucial situation by the grace of God, she got protection at a place called Mudivemu in the house of a brahmin by name Viṣṇu Somayāji. As nothing is mentioned about this queen, one cannot say whether she was daughter of Durvinīta or someone else. What is stated in Gummireddipura plate only confirms the opinion of Dr. S. Srikanta Sastri.

This queen of Jayasimha gave birth to a son who was named Vishṇuvardhana. He is also known as Raṇarāga. Haya-vadana Rao mentions him as Rājasimha.⁵ Raṇarāga's mother must have inspired and guided him in his destinies it is stated that he worshipped (perhaps at the instance of his mother) Goddess Nandābhagavatī at Chalukagiri to get her blessings and gain strength to recover the lost kingdom. Raṇarāga *alias* Vishṇuvardhana acted wisely and vigorously to regain his father's kingdom by subduing both the Kadambas and Pallavas.⁶

Raṇarāga not only won back the lost kingdom but also won the Pallava princess as his bride. Her name we are still not able to trace. It is this Pallava princess who gave birth to Vijayāditya. But again we do not know whom Vijayāditya married. Had we known this, we would have known about the mother of Pulakēśi I (son of Vijayāditya) who firmly established the Chalukyan kingdom and founded the capital city Vātāpi (Badāmi). He performed many rituals like *Bahusuvārṇayāga*, *Vājapēyi*, *pouṇḍarikam*, *agni-śtoma*, *Agnichayana*, *hiraṇyagarbha*, *Aśwamedha*, etc.⁷

Pulakēśi I, had married Durlabhadēvī, a princess of Baṭṭūrukula (also surmised as Bappūrukula). She has been described as *Mahāpativratā* and compared to Jasmine flower.

Pulakēśi I, had two sons by name Kīrtivarma and Mangalēśa. Kīrtivarma's mother is Durlabhadēvī and Mangalēśa was perhaps the son of another queen of Pulakēśi I.⁸ Dr. K. V. Ramesh opines that Indukānti was Pulakēśi's another queen.⁹ But Śrī R. S. Panchamukhi states that Indukānti is the name of a town and not of a queen.¹⁰ He further states that Durlabhadēvī was Kīrtivarma's wife and not his mother, entirely depending on the word '*saguru-patnīm*'. It is difficult to agree with his interpretation for Kīrtivarma I, who was also known as Kaṭṭiarasa and Pūgavarma had married a sister of Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja belonging to Sēndraka family. This is further corroborated

by Chiṭṭun record which clearly states that Sēnānandarāja of Sēndraka family was maternal uncle of Pulakēśi II.¹¹ Hence mother of Pulakēśi II was Sēnānandarāja's sister and not Durlabhadēvi. According to Dharmastambha inscription of Mangalēśa which relates to his 5th regnal year, he is said to have delegated the power of administration and management of Śrīyambātaka, Nandigrāma, Kisuvola and seven other towns gifted to the temple to Durlabhadēvi. Even though Aihole inscription states that Mangalēśa was Kirtivarma's 'anuja' it can be said that Durlabhadēvi was not his mother.¹²

Pulakēśi II, married a Kadamba princess. She has been described as *Agramahādēvi*. Smt. B. N. Sarvamangala opines that the name of this Kadamba princess is *Agramahādēvi*.¹³ The record in question mentions '*Kadambanāmadhēyāgramahādēvi*' which means that the queen by name Kadambā was the senior queen. This senior queen Kadambā while encamping at Kallūrupura (during a war campaign) with the king, persuades him to gift away Māraṭūru village to the brahmins to fulfil the desire of her *Guru*. This grant was effected on 21-5-626 A.D.

Since Kadamba Mahādēvi is addressed as senior queen, Pulakēśi II, had other queens as well. A record of Nagar mentions that Durvinīta's daughter Gangamahādēvi was mother of Vikramāditya suggesting that she was another queen of Pulakēśi II.¹⁴ From Hosur plates we come to know that Pulakēśi II, had a daughter by name Ambērā and that the king gave grants to brahmins at the request of his daughter. Very likely she might have been married to a Ganga prince. Some scholars feel that Hosur plates are spurious.¹⁵

Apart from daughter Ambērā Pulakēśi II, had four sons. Scholars hold the opinion that Vikramāditya succeeded his father. But there is a gap of 12-13 years between the death of Pulakēśi II, and accession of Vikramāditya I.

We know that Gangamahādēvi was Vikramāditya's mother. We do not know whether Kadambamahādēvi was the mother of any other children of Pulakēśi II. From another source we know of grand-daughter of Pulakēśi II, i.e., daughter of Raṇarāga. She appears to have married one Mādhava, son of Kaliyanga of Malliyūr a place near Kāñchi.¹⁶ It states that Kaliyanga belonged to the Ganga family. It is not known whether Raṇarāga was another son of Pulakēśi II or an attribute to one of the other sons. If Raṇarāga was another son of Pulakēśi II, it is not known whether he was the first born or not. Most of the scholars as also Poet Ranna say that Ādityavarma was Pulakēśi's eldest son. Ranna in the list of rulers mentioned by him in *Sāhasa Bhīma Vijaya* informs that Ādityavarma succeeded *Satyavratī* (Pulakēśi II).¹⁷ But Dr. S. Srikanta Sastri in the geneological table mentions that Chandrāditya was eldest son of Pulakēśi II)¹⁸ Hosur plates also suggest that Chandrāditya was the eldest brother (Jyēṣṭhabhrāta) of Ambērā. Actually the plates refer to Vijayabhāṭṭārikā thus "*tasya* (Ambērā's) *Jyēṣṭhabhrātuḥ Śrī Chandrāditya prithivīvallabha mahārājasya priyamahishī Vijayabhāṭṭārikā*". Dhārāśraya was another son of Pulakēśi II.

We have significant information about queen Vijayabhāṭṭārikā, wife of Chandrāditya. She is known by many names, viz., Vidyā, Vidyānkā, Vijji, Vijjikā, Vijayā, Vijayānkā, Vijayamahādēvi, Vijayabhāṭṭārikā and Karnāṭī. Nerur inscription of 659 A.D. relates to the period of Vikramāditya I. But it is an inscription installed by Vijayabhāṭṭārikā herself. In this she refers to her husband Chandrāditya as *Prithivīvallabha Mahārāja* and to Vikramāditya, her husband's younger brother as "*Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara Bhāṭṭāraka*" which signifies that he was ruling the kingdom. This inscription also reveals that it was the 5th year of her rule (*Svarājya panchamavatsare*). This indicates that Chandrāditya was governing an area during the time of his father. Vikramāditya I, who succeeded

to the throne, allowed his sister-in-law, Vijayabhāṭṭārikā to govern the land governed by her husband. Since this inscription is of 659 A.D., Chandrāditya might have died in or about 645 A.D. We know that Vikramāditya occupied the throne in or about 655 A.D. There is a specific period of gap between Pulakēśi II, and Vikramāditya I. We can only surmise that after the death of Pulakēśi II, Chandrāditya and his brothers were engaged in battle to get back the lost kingdom culminating in the death of Chandrāditya, who perhaps was issueless. Kocre plates mention that Vijayabhāṭṭārikā gifted lands to the brahmins of Kochhūruka town. She was a scholar of great distinction. Her merits have been praised by many scholars. Rājaśekhara says she was of dark complexion but excelled in her creative talents as a writer. He also states that she had mastered the *Vaidarbhī* style of Kālidāsa. Daṇḍin says that she had the illumination of Goddess Sarasvatī. Dhananjaya in his *Daśarūpaka* and Mukuṣa in his *Abhidhvāvrittī-mātruka* have not only praised her and given high tributes to her, but also have quoted her poems. The Sanskrit play *Kaumudimahōtsava* is attributed to her. The language and construction of the play compares very favourably with the best of the times. We are aware that Pulakēśi II was the legal heir to Kīrtivarma's throne. But since his uncle Mangalēśa who was taking care of administration because of Pulakēśi's tender age, tried to put his own son on the throne. Hence Pulakēśi had to take the throne by force. A reflection of this personal factor could be identified in the play. Dhanadēva in his *Sārangadharapaddhati* and Vallabhadēva in his *Subhāshitāvalī* have also quoted her poem and hold her in high esteem as a creative writer. Her poems are found in many anthologies. It is very likely an anthology of her own poems was also there.¹⁹

Kurnool inscription just refers to a queen of Ādityavarma without mentioning either her family name or her name.

Ādityavarma was governing the Eastern portion of the kingdom.²⁰

Gadwal inscription merely informs that Vikramāditya I married one Gangamahādēvi.²¹ Dr. Venkataramaiah feels that this refers to only the mother of Vikramāditya. We know that Pulakēśi II, had married a Gangamahādēvi. Vikramāditya also might have married another Gangamahādēvi. Since no other detail is given in this inscription about Gangamahādēvi, it may not be wise to surmise that she is the same Gangamahādēvi, daughter of Durvīnīta and queen of Pulakēśi II. We further know that to this couple (Vikramāditya and Gangamahādēvi) was born Vinayāditya.

Puṇe inscription informs of this fact and also tells us that he had married one by name Vinayavatī. By her request she caused the grant of lands at Toravi to one Durggaśarma of Kāśyapa Gotra by the king when the Royal couple were camping at Manchoha on a full-moon day in Vaiśākha corresponding to 29-4-690 A.D. This grant was initiated to fulfil *Kanyādharmā*.²² What exactly is *Kanyādharmā* is to be found out. Queen Vinayavatī gave birth to a son by name Vijayāditya and a daughter by name Kumkumamahādēvi. Ālampur records indicate, that one Mahādēvi was queen of Vinayāditya.²³ Whether Mahādēvi is a name or an attribute of Vinayavatī is yet to be confirmed. Shiggavi inscription informs that Princess Kumkumamahādēvi married Chitravāhana son of Āḷupa king Guṇasāgara. It also mentions that for a Jinālaya constructed by her, she caused the gift of Guḍigeri village, as maintenance grant. The inscription narrates that Kumkumamahādēvi, who by that times had already made many gifts came to this gifting ceremony having bathed with purificatory auspicious ablutions showing that she took meticulous care of religious traditions. Her husband ruled Nāgarakhaṇḍa Jeḍugur regions and was always very loyal to Chalukya kings. He calls himself “*Chalukya' Rajyābhivruddhihētu*”. Since the inscription

states that the Chalukya king Vijayāditya came to Banavāsi from the war camp to the gifting ceremony, Chitravāhana was perhaps ruling from Banavāsi.²⁴

We know that Vikramāditya II, was Vijayāditya's son. We do not know who his mother was. How strange it is not to know about the queen of such a flourishing kingdom, but to know of a courtesan who has been praised as Vijayāditya's "*Prāṇavallabhe*". The inscription not only gives her name but also gives her mother's name. Her name is Vināpōṭi. But some scholars say that it is the name of a town and not the name of a person (identifying Vināpōṭi with Mahākūṭa). The inscription in question describes with dignity and grace what this courtesan did. She donated a *Ratna pīṭha*, a silver umbrella and lands at *Mangalūlle Aṣṭāsata* to meet the perpetual worshipping expenses of the temple.²⁵ Some scholars opine that the place might be Mangalore of South Kanara. But there is also a place called *Mangalagudde (ṭṭe)*, at a distance of about 3-4 miles from Mahākūṭa. Likely, Vināpōṭi belonged to this place and owned lands.

Vikramāditya II, had two queens. They were sisters belonging to Haihaya family. The elder of the two is Lōkamahādēvi who caused the construction of Lokēśvara temple (identified as Virūpāksha temple) at Paṭṭadakal.²⁶ This temple was constructed to mark the triple victories of Vikramāditya II, over Pallava Nandivarman II. The *stapati* of this temple is one by name "*Guṇḍa*".²⁷ He was both an architect and a sculptor. This *stapati* was honoured by the Kulder and confirmed on him three titles, viz., *Tribhuvanāchāri*, *Tenkaṇadīśāsūtradhāri* and *Anivāritāchāri*. This inscription states that these honours were re-confirmed by Lokamahādēvi at the time of honoring a group of artists and musicians. She also gave shelter to dancer by name Achalā.²⁸

The second queen of Vikramāditya II, was Trailōkyamahādēvi sister of Lōkamahādēvi. This queen also caused

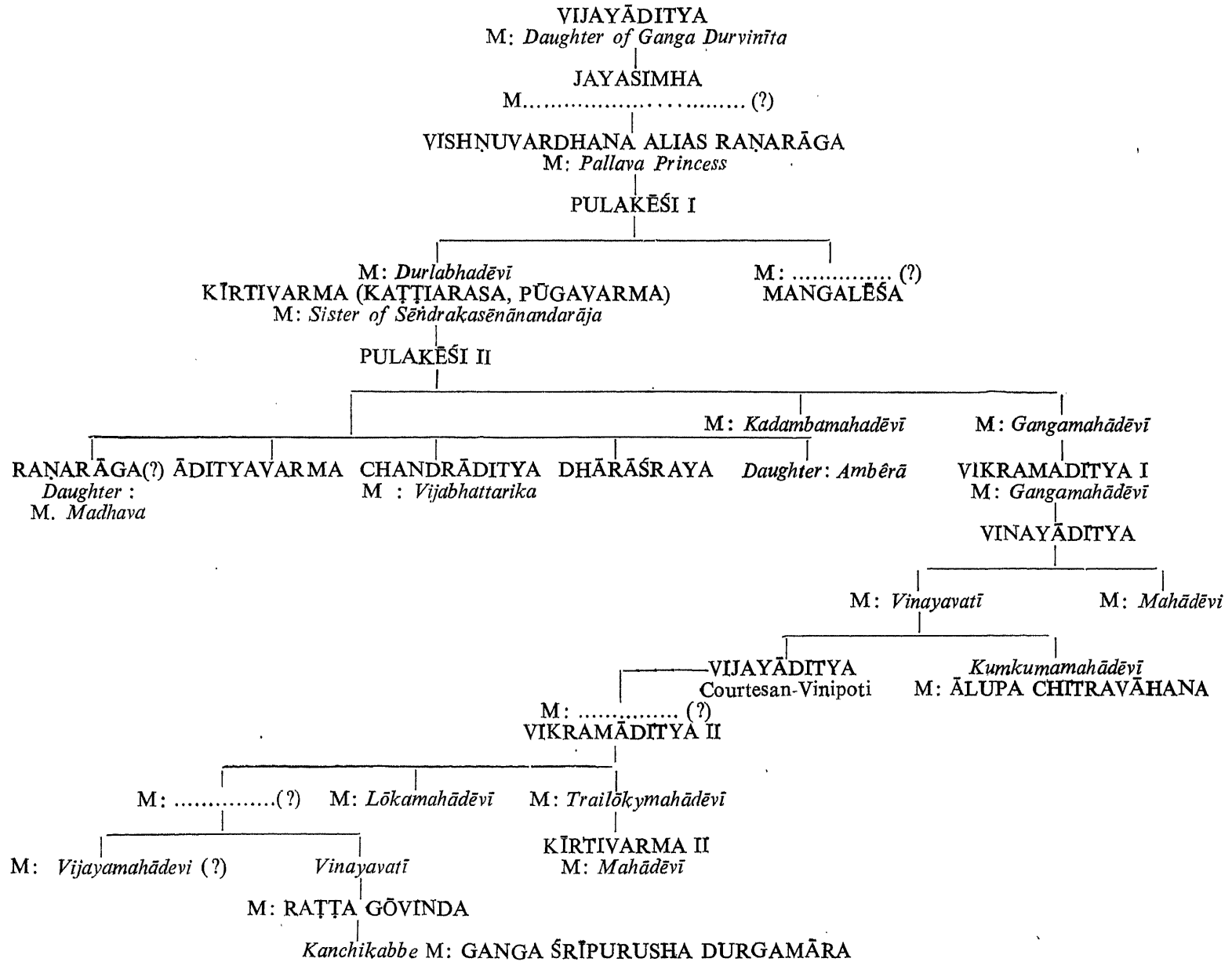
the construction of a temple at Paṭṭadakal and called it Trailokēśvara temple (identified with Mallikārjuna Temple).²⁹ Kīrtivarma II, was the son of Trailokya Mahādēvī. Vikramāditya II, had also a daughter by name Vinayavatī who was married to one Govindarāja who perhaps belonged to Rāshtrakūṭa family.³⁰ Sri Rangawsamy mentions that Vikramāditya II, had a daughter by name Vijayamahādēvī.

To Vinayavatī and Govindarāja were born Indra and his sister Kanchikabbe. Kanchikabbe had married Ganga Śrīpurusha Durrgamāra, son of Śivarāja and grandson of Nannappa. While Śrīpurusha Durrgamāra was ruling Kuvaḷaḷa nāḍu 300 and Ganga 6000, his queen Kanchikabbe was ruling Aḡaḷi.³¹ She has been described as one having a Lotus-like face. The couple in the eyes of the people shone like Śachi-Indra, Gaurī-Pināki and Padma-Nārāyaṇa.

Kīrtivarma II, is considered to be the last of the kings of Badāmi Chalukyas. He appears to have lost his power in A.D. 753. Only in one of the inscriptions of Kīrtivarma, it is stated that when he was at Raktapura, he gifted a village called Beppaṭṭi (identified as Bahalli near Dharmapuri) to a brahmin by name Rāmaśarma, son of Mākaṇa Vājapēyiyāji and grandson of Vājappa Śarma at the request of his queen Mahādēvī.³²

This is more or less an exhaustive collection of available material relating to the queens of Badāmi Chalukyas in chronological order. We have been able to identify 18 queens, 6 princesses and a courtesan. A geneological table is appended to this paper for ready reference. It is true that we do not still have enough material about all the ladies. In some cases we know only the names. In some others we know only their family. But still the material collected suggests the following conclusions:

1. that the queens were all highly religious and respected tradition and brahmins. That they caused con-



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struction of temple and gifted to temples and the priestly class;

2. that personal religious faith was no bar for marriage. Jaina-Śaiva-Bhāgavata marriages have taken place. Interfaith marriage was accepted without any sting in the society;
3. that the queens were accompanying the kings to the warfield;
4. that the queens were not merely literate but were well educated and were gifted in many arts. Literature, Dance, Music and Sculpture were things of keen interest to the queens;
5. that matrimonial alliances have been baptised not only between mutually fighting dynasties (say Pallava-Chālukya, Kadamba-Chālukya, Rāshtrakūta-Chālukya) but also between the *sāmantas* and their over-lords;
6. that the queens were vested with the responsibility of administration and governance of portions of kingdom.

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2. Gummireddipura Plates, and *EC*, Vol. VIII, Nagar No. 35.
3. HAYAVADANA RAO, C., *Mysore Gazetteer*, p. 706.
4. SRIKANTA SASTRY, S., *Sources of Karnataka History*.
5. HAYAVADANA RAO, C., *Op. Cit.*
6. *Ind. Ant.*, *Op. Cit.*
7. Mahākūta Inscription.
8. Nerur and Kochre Inscriptions.

9. Studies in Indian History and Culture-Pulakēṣi I—Dr. K. V. Ramesh.
Note:

Dr. K. V. Ramesh states: the conclusion that Indukānti was queen of Pulakēṣi I, is much more convincing than the prosaic interpretation that Pulakēṣi I, was endowed with the lustre of moon or the unproven inference that before he built the fortress and city of Vātāpi, Pulakēṣi I, was lord of city called Indukānti.

Unless corroborated by other supporting material it is difficult to accept the inference of Dr. Ramesh. The inscription in question has been composed by an expert. Śrītēndukānti can mean, Lustre of moon, or he who has sheltered moon, i.e., Chandraśekhara or one who has lustre of Chandraśekhara. Sri Vallabha in the text refers to Viṣṇu and Śrītēndukānti can refer to Śiva. Hence on the basis of what is found in this inscription, it may not be proper to infer that the king had a wife by name Indukānti.

10. PANCHAMUKHI, R. S., *Op. Cit.*
11. Chiplun plates, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX and E.I. III.
12. Mahākūṭa inscription.
13. SARVAMANGALA, B. N., 'Chalukya Raniyaru', *Manavika Karnataka* II-4.
14. *EC*, VIII—Nagar No. 11.
15. *Ind. Ant.*, VIII.
16. *MAR*, 1939, p. 130.
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18. Dr. S. SRIKANTA SASTRY, *Sources of Karnataka History*.
19. KRISHNAMACHAR, M., *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*.
Nerur inscriptions and *QJMS*, Vol. 24, p. 158.
20. Kurnool inscription.
21. Gadwal inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 100.
22. *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 289.
23. Alampur inscription.
24. Shiggavi inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX and XXXII.
25. *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 103.
26. *Ibid.*, pp, 164-65.

27. *Ind. Ant.*, “*Degulamān māḍida sūtradhāri śrī Guṇḍan*”—Aihole record
28. SARVAMANGALA, B. N., *Op. Cit.*
29. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 339, Paṭṭadakal Inscription.
30. *Ibid.*, XXVII Part 4, Salem plates.
31. *EC. X*, Mulbagal 10.
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SOCIAL LIFE AND ECONOMICAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI

DR. (MRS.) JYOTSNA K. KAMAT

Contemporary literary sources like Daṇḍin's *Daśa-kumāracharita*, Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, and *Kādambari*, give us glimpses of court life and social practices of the elite. Though they do not directly pertain to the region under the Chalukyas, they do depict the social milieu which is echoed in contemporary sculptures of this region and the accounts of foreign travellers who had been to this land. *Mattavilāsaprahasana* of Pallava king Mahēndravarmaṇ refers to certain social practices which were common to Pallava and Karnataka regions in the 7th century. Uddyōtanasūri's *Kuvalayamālā*, a Prakrit work of the 8th century, has its locale in western India and refers to life in the cities and ports which formed part of the Chalukyan territory.

Cosmos Indicopleustes, the Egyptian Christian merchant who came to India in the 6th century, had earned the surname of *Indikopleustes*, i.e., sailor of the Indian seas. He had been to different ports on the west coast in the Chalukyan kingdom and has left interesting information regarding some native customs. Accounts of Huen-Tsang who had extensively toured in the south, though of quoted, is an inevitable source for the social data of the times. I-tsing though he did not visit the Deccan and South India states that he could ascertain (and note down) any thing by careful inquiry.¹ These accounts and literary sources help us to understand the food habits, dress, amusements, education, trade and commerce of those times.

Food and Food Habits

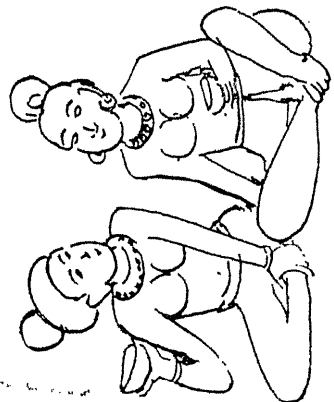
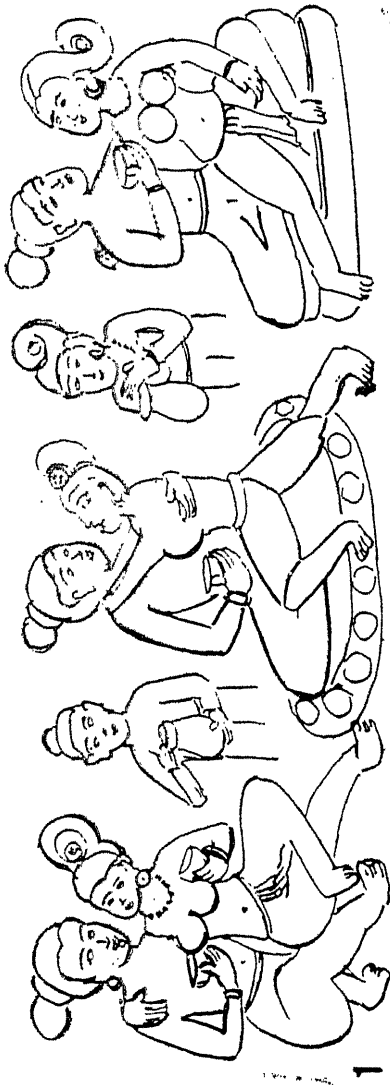
I-tsing has described the food habits of people of five parts of India. Southern Frontier and eastern border-land

had rice as the main product like Magadha.² Ghee, oil, milk and cream were found everywhere. Cakes and fruits had such an abundant variety that it was difficult to enumerate them.³ Only his observation that even laymen rarely had the taste of grease and flesh must have been limited to the particular region or community only, in which he was moving because Huen-Tsiang refers to fish, mutton and venison as occasional dainties.⁴ *Sūlyamāmsa* or roast-meat was eaten with wine.⁵ *Pulastya Smṛiti*, a contemporary work, lays down that during *Śrāddha*, a Brahmin should principally use vegetable food whereas Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas could offer meat preparations.⁶

Drinking was common. The wines from vine and sugarcane were popular among Kshatriyas. A strongly distilled spirit was relished by Vaiśyas. Buddhist monks and the Brahmins drank syrup of grapes and sugarcane and among the humbler mixed castes, there was no distinguishing drink according to Huen-Tsiang.⁷

In Pulakēśi's kingdom the martial heroes who led the army in the battles went fully intoxicated and even their war-elephants were made fully drunk before an engagement.⁸ Drinking place (*āpāna-bhūmi*)⁹ and tavern (*Surāpaṇa*)¹⁰ are mentioned in contemporary classics.

Mattavilāsaprahasana is entirely built round the theme of drinking and incidentally gives details of eating and drinking habits of followers of Buddhism in South India, who according to Huen-Tsiang, were in considerable number in Karnataka and the Pallava country. The Buddhist monk Nāgasena was served with a variety of fish and meat which had different tastes. He enjoyed living in palatial lodgings, sleeping on soft couches, had good food and tasty beverages (*Sura-sāni pānakāni*) in the afternoon and also betel with fragment spices. He was lucky enough to have fine soft garments and only regretted that drinking liquor and company of



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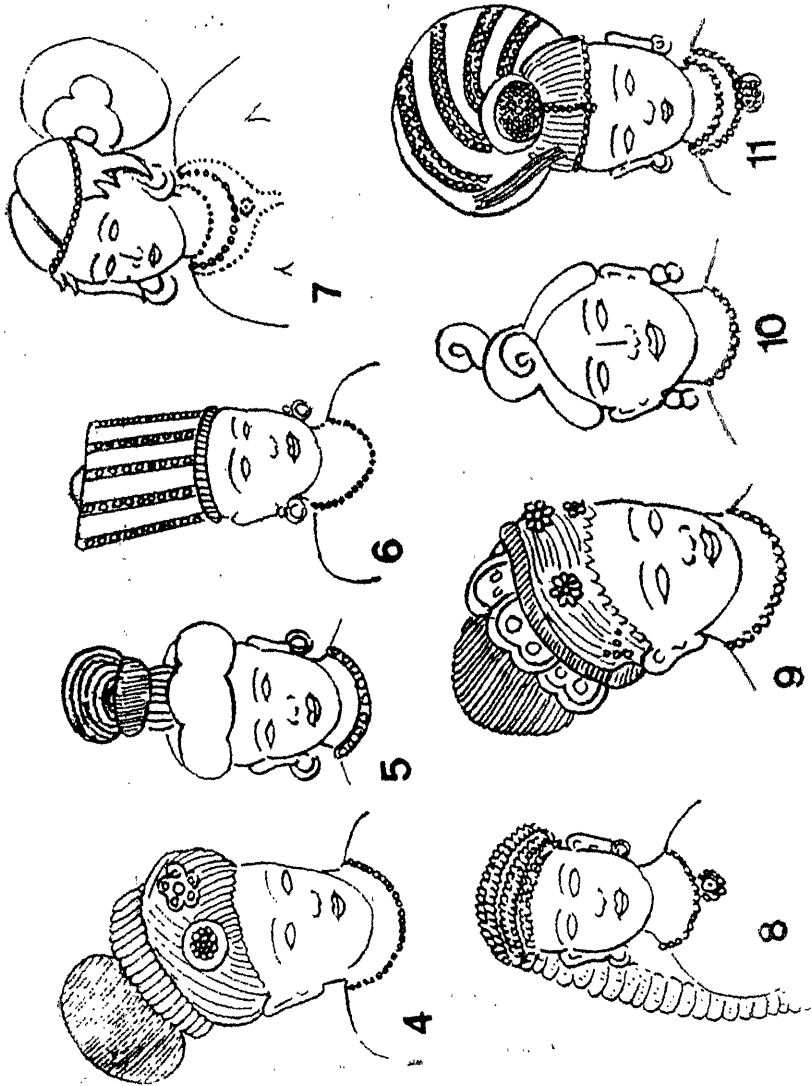
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women were the only things forbidden to him.¹¹ Though Mahēndravarmaṇ is critical of the ways and practices of Buddhists, it cannot be denied that the Buddhist monks had taken to soft life in the declining years of Buddhism in the South. The author is equally satirical about the *kāpālīka* monk who went from one liquor shop to another in the company of his beloved and when fully drunk, compares the toddy-shop to the sacrificial ground.¹² Thus, the sign-post formed the sacrificial post; liquor the soma juice; drunkards the priests; cups the bowls, condiments like roasted meat, the oblations; talks of the intoxicated, the *Yajur-mantras*; their songs the *Soma hymns*; leather bags, the sacrificial ladles; thirst, the fire and the keeper of the shop, the host of the sacrifice.¹³

Drinking scenes have been preserved in the form of sculptures in the temples of the period. In a temple of Puṭṭadakka a drinking party is well depicted. Three intoxicated couples are engrossed among (Fig. 1) themselves bowls in hand and a male and a female servant with wine jars in their hands are anxiously waiting to serve them. In another sculpture two housewives (Fig. 2) are having a drink while discussing a point. A lady fully intoxicated and being helped (Fig. 3) by the attendants can be seen. Similar sculptures at Mahākūṭa temples have been whitewashed and hence are not very distinct.

Cosmos Indicopleustes tells us that coconut-water served Indians in place of wine and that it tasted exceedingly sweet.¹⁴ The fact that Cosmos called it the wine of Indians might indicate that it used to be offered to guests as a sign of hospitality as is still the practice in some parts of Karnataka.

Huen-Tsiang was highly appreciative of the clean personal habits of the Indians,¹⁵ and I-tsing refers to cleansing, chewing toothwoods, and use of fine white cloth for straining water.¹⁶

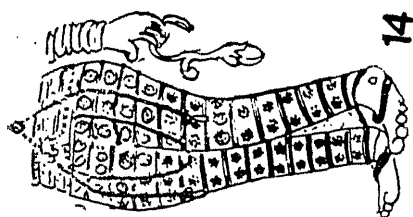


Dress and Ornaments

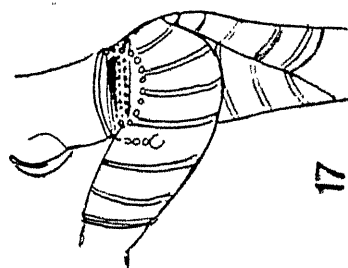
Dress and ornaments of the kings and the elite were extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras of precious stones adorned their heads and they wore rings, bracelets and necklaces.¹⁷ Cosmos also confirms that from Africa came emeralds which the Huns were fond of wearing on the head.¹⁸ The sculptures of Paṭṭadakal, Badāmi and Mahākūṭa have a variety of hair-styles and head-dresses of the period. Ladies used to decorate their hair in a bun which was positioned vertically (Fig. 4), either to left or right, or directly behind the head (Fig. 7). Pigtails were in vogue and at times they were decorated with flowers (Fig. 8). Similarly, flowers and pearls were freely used to decorate the buns (Fig. 9). Big buns in various shapes (Fig. 11) presuppose use of switches, hairbands and hairpins. Man tied the hair in such a way that the protruding hairbun (Fig. 5) could be seen from a distance. Hunters, cow-herds and poor people used simple turbans (Fig. 10) to cover their heads. The elite of the society used decorated, expensive caps (Fig. 6).

The sculptures of the period indicate that all ornaments including shoulder ornaments, bracelets, girdles, anklets and *brahmasūtra* (a thick golden belt worn over one shoulder like *Yajñōpavīta* which are found in elaborate pattern in later Chalukya and Hoysala times) were in vogue. Only the nose-ornament is not depicted which may be a later innovation. We get the picture of a well-dressed lady in Bāṇa's description of Mālātī. She wore a bright girdle round her loins. Her necklace with jewelled pendants, bracelets on forearms and beautiful ear rings are elaborately described. On the hairparting was a frontal jewel as well.¹⁹ The oversized ear ornaments depicted in the sculptures were a puzzle but Bāṇa's description makes it clear that wearing flowers in ears was a fashion of those times.

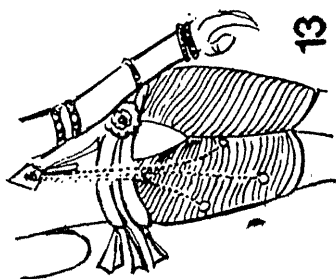
The *sārī* was a fashion among men and women. Cave III of Badāmi and Virūpākṣa temple Paṭṭadakal



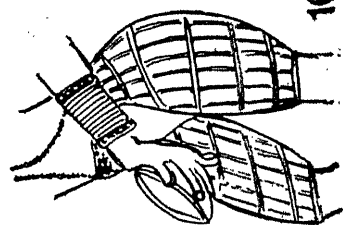
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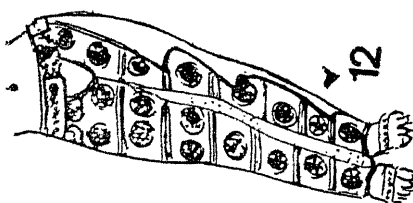
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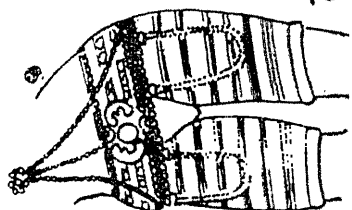
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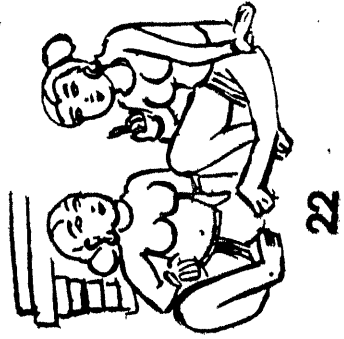
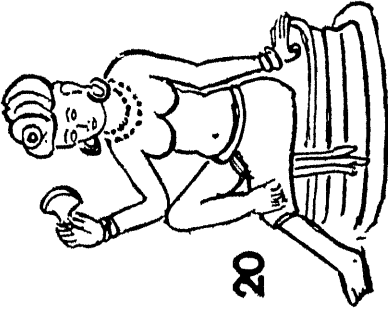
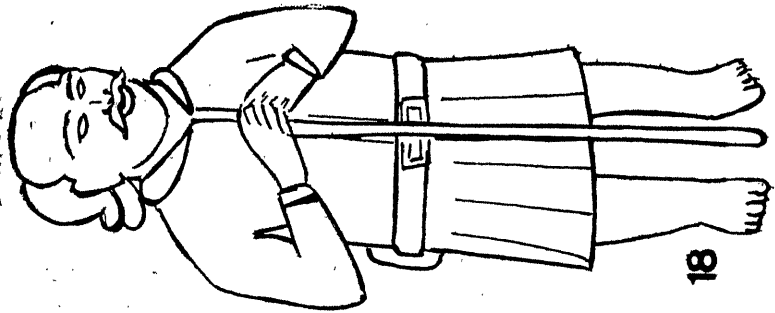


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have a good collection of a variety of *sāris*. Beautiful stripes and floral designs (Fig. 12) are depicted on these. In each sculpture the *sāri* is worn in a different style. Some give appearance of a modern mini-*sāri* (Fig. 13) other looks like a pair of trousers (Fig. 14). Some *sāris* are gracefully folded, tucked in and draped round like a *lungi*.

I-tsing had observed that the laymen of India, the officers and people of a higher class had a pair of white soft silk or wool cloth for their garments while the poorer and lower classes had one piece of linen (perhaps he means cloth).²⁰ This appears to have been true of Karnataka as well. But Huen-Tsiang's remark that sewn clothes were not common²¹ can be accepted only with reservation. A sculpture in cave III of Badāmi, a lady wears shorts (Fig. 15) which must be a sewn cloth. In the same cave, there are other clothes (Figs. 16 and 17) which look like sewn, at least temporarily. Bāṇa mentions bodies overlaid with star-like pearls, gown or petticoat (*Kañchuka*). Frescoes of Ajanta give a variety of tailored dresses from transparent full-sleeved blouse of a dancer to striped brassiere of a servant, besides trousers, socks, belts and tunics of men.

The half-bald Dvārapāla at Mahākūṭa (Fig. 18) wears a coat well above the knees and tightly belted at the waist. J. C. Harle has identified two figures (though these are in extremely worn out conditions), at the Brahmanical cave (No. 69) at Aihole as those of *Yavana* Dvārapālas. According to him the dress of these sculptures is discerned as a tunic or coat as in Mahākūṭa. Tight-fitting trousers and pointed cap complete the outfit.²² That *Yavana* dress should find its place in the sculpture of a temple shows that it was fairly well known to the sculptor who could give different costumes he had seen and known, to the figures he was carving. Harle thinks that this cave was carved in early Chalukya times. A more elaborate study of the sculptures in this region will help us in understanding the different dresses and ornaments used in this period.



Besides a variety of cotton cloth, linen and wool, silk was in greater demand in the upper strata of the society and the finest silk came from China. *Gangāpaṭṭa* (white silk, like water of Ganges) and *nētrapāṭṭa* (mostly coloured silk) seem to have been a popular variety.²³ Bāṇa also mentions *nētra*. Later, Somadēva and in still later century Kannada poet Harihara mention *nētrāvali* in the list of fine fabrics showing the continuity of the popularity of this variety.

Use of unguents, of sandal paste, civet, musk, etc. and *tilak* on the forehead were a common feature.²⁴ Beauty-conscious ladies must have been spending good part of the day in their dressing room. A Paṭṭadakal sculpture shows a lady busy in her 'make up' (Fig. 20).

Amusements

Literary sources help us to know about contemporary sports and pastimes which were more or less common throughout the country. In Daṇḍin, we find that besides drinking, hunting was a favourite pastime. Being the best kind of exercise, it generated swiftness of foot, removed phlegm improved appetite, reduced fat and made the limbs firm, hardy and active.²⁵ Gambling was an equally common pastime. Birds were reared for amusement.²⁶ In a Paṭṭadakal sculpture, a lady with her pet bird (Fig. 19) is nicely depicted. In another sculpture a house-wife is shown spending her spare time with her reared bird (Fig. 21). Cock and ramfights, wrestling bouts, dancing and singing parties in which men and women took part are described in *Kuvalayamāla*.²⁷ Cosmos had noticed that elephant-fights were a favourite sport and has left this description. A breast-high transverse beam separated the elephants in order to prevent them from colliding against each other. The spectators divided themselves into two groups, one on either side and incited the animals, which then lashed at each other with their trunks, till one of them gave up the

fight.²⁸ Stencil-cutting and painting were practised by some.²⁹ Contemporary sculptures give a good number of percussion and other instruments. Dancing was equally popular and celebrated dancers were honoured. One Achala Naṭasēvyā seems to have been an accomplished dancer and poet of these times.³⁰ When time and money were in short supply the women engaged themselves in gossip as seen in a Paṭṭadaka sculpture (Fig. 22).

Education

Huen-Tsiang noticed in Pulakēśi's land that people were fond of learning and studied both heretical and orthodox books.³¹ Much was common in the three systems of education, Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu. In the Buddhist system it started at the age of seven. The first science taught was grammar, then came skilled professions based on the principles of mechanised arts, astrology, medicine, science of reasoning and others.³² In *Kuvalayamālā*, a big *maṭha* (*mahāntam maṭha*) is described wherein came students from Lāṭa, Karnāṭaka, Mālava, Kanouj, Gōḍavari, Mahārāshtra, Sourāshtra, Śrikanṭha (Thaneshwar) and Sindha.³³ The courses of study in this Jaina *maṭha* comprised Vyākaraṇa, Buddhism *sāṅkhyā*, *nyāya*, *anēkānta* (Jainism), *lōkāyata* or Chārvāka philosophies.³⁴ From Bāṇa we find that for princes the education started at the age of six and lasted till the sixteenth year and included grammar, *dharma-sāstra*, *rājanīti*, *Vyāyāma* (different exercises), military science, music, dance, painting, study of classics besides many other crafts, arts and sciences.³⁵ *Kuvalayamālā* describes many of the 72 arts and 64 sciences then known.³⁶ Thus we find that basically there was little difference in the three systems of education and the study of *Vyākaraṇa* and the science of reasoning (*tarka*) were paid utmost attention.

Āśramas, *ghaṭikās*, *maṭhas*, *agrahāras* and *brahmapurīs* continued to be haunts of the seekers of knowledge in this age as well. In the *āśramas*, according to *Kuvalayamālā*

scholars studied, prayed, held controversies, disputations and exchanged views on several points of religion and philosophy. Twentyone methods of study included teaching, reflecting, listening, interrogation, etc, are described.³⁷

From the mention of *ghaṭikā* in the Nidupāru grant of Jayasīma I, it is seen that members of a *ghaṭikā* were versed in *vēdas*, law books together with Kalpa, upanishads, *purāṇas* and *itihāsa*.³⁸

In Kadamba times *ghaṭikās* existed in far-off places like Kāñchi but by the 7th century they seem to have become known in Karnataka as well. *Agrahāras* and *Brahmapura*³⁹ are also found in this period.

The ancient practice of granting land to learned Brahmins continued. The Mārūtūru grant of Satyāśraya Pula-kēśi II, refers to donations to Brahmins who were famous as *tārkikas* (logicians).⁴⁰ One Dhruvaśarma was learned in *vēdas*, *vēdāngas*, *epics*, *purāṇas*, *nyāya* and numerous sacred writings.⁴¹ Udayadēva who was a family priest of Vijayāditya, was a pupil of Pūjyapāda, who was a great name of the academic world of the 7th century. He was the author of Jainēndra *vyākaraṇa*, wrote commentry to *Pāṇiniya*, knew several arts and crafts and was learned in *vaidyaśāstra*.⁴²

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

A. Trade and Commerce

Cosmos mentions that Sindhu, Kalliana, Sibor were important ports.⁴³ Sibor seems to have been Sopara near Bombay. *Malē (rājya)* was important in having such ports including *Parti* (Bhatkal) and *Manrouth* (Mangalore).⁴⁴ To these ports came silk from China, aloes and sandalwood from the Malayan archipelago, ivory and emeralds from Africa.⁴⁵ From Kalliana went bronze, sesame and variety of cloth; Marellor or Coromandal sent shells. Persia and

the Hellenic world purchased them for gold and silver. Ceylon with its central situation was a great mart through which India sent articles of trade to the Far East.⁴⁶

Kuvalayamālā gives interesting information regarding trading activities in the eighth century. There were regular trade links from China to Sopara, from Taxila to Sumatra.⁴⁷ Sopara was the biggest port and bristled with activities of people who came from different lands. There was a club (*Vāṇiyamēli*) in that city of traders in which merchants from different countries were entertained and information exchanged about the countries visited and commodities of trade.⁴⁸ In Kosala horses were sold for elephants; in *Uttarāpatha* betelnuts were in great demand. In eastern countries pearls brought flywhisks.⁴⁹

Trade was carried on by huge caravans which consisted of a large number of camels, bullocks, horses and donkeys. One such caravan started from Vindhyaapur for Kāñchi and another from Taxila to Śūrparakas (Sopara). Great preparations were undertaken for sea voyage and these are graphically described in *Kuvalayamālā*. The term *Siddhayātrā* had become a technical one applied to sea-journey including departure and safe-return.⁵⁰

B. *Weights and Measures*

Land was divided into *nivartanas* and *Rājamāna* or royal measure, is referred in the grants.⁵¹ *Nivartana* equalled to five acres. There were types of land known as *Khajjāna*⁵² and *Vakulakshetra*.⁵³ An inscription of 732-33 A.D. refers to one *māna* on each *pēru* and five *visas* on each *bhaṇḍapēru* and fifty betel leaves on each *pēru* of these leaves.⁵⁴

Māna for grains perhaps equalled to the erstwhile *maṇa* or maund which varied from region to region. *Visa* equalled 31 Kilogrammes and odd. *Bhaṇḍapēru* must have referred to cart-load (*baṇḍipēru*).

We find that *pēru*, *maḷave* and *pala* were in vogue in the Ālupa kingdom as well.⁵⁵ Like *maṇa*, *pēru* must have differed from region to region. Oil was measured in *soṇṭiges*.⁵⁶ In big ports like Sopara, standard weights like *pala*, *karsha*, *masha* and *ratti* were in vogue.⁵⁷ Though internal trade was mostly through barter and exchange, international trade was carried on in gold and silver as attested by Cosmos.⁵⁸

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COINS OF THE CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI

DR. A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

The Chalukyas who succeeded the Kadambas of Banavāsi occupy a prominent position in the political and cultural history of Karnataka. A new spirit of political expansion was inaugurated in the Deccan and its impact was felt even in North India. Huein-Tsang who travelled in the Deccan during the rule of the Chalukyas of Badāmi has left testimonies to the greatness of the cultural development that was taking place. Education and art received unprecedented patronage from the enlightened Chalukya rulers. Thus we see an allround prosperity during the period beginning from the sixth century to the middle of the eighth century in Karnataka. But we are disappointed when we take up the study of the coins of this dynasty as the coins of this dynasty so far discovered are not many. It may be surmised that on account of the precious metal that was used in the coinage of the period, few coins of the Chalukyas of Badāmi have survived.

The Chalukyas of Badāmi had the boar (*Varāha*) on their royal emblem. This is seen in many seals of their copper plates. Hence it is generally believed that the early gold coins of South India and the Deccan which contained a boar on their obverse were issues of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. In fact, the tradition of boar-coins was inaugurated by the Chalukyas of Badāmi. These gold coins became so popular in South India and the Deccan that *Varaha* or *Varāha* became a common terminology for gold coins of a particular type. It is very curious that the coins of Vijayanagar and other dynasties, though not containing the picture of a boar on them, were still referred to as *Varahas*. This is a good testimony to the prosperous condition of the coinage of the Chalukyas of Badāmi.

Though the gold coins of the Chalukyas of Badāmi are referred to by Elliot¹ and other early writers, inscribed Chalukya coins were discovered very recently. The credit of bringing to light the first inscribed coin of Chalukya Vikramāditya goes to S. Ramayya.²

The coin in question belongs to Vikramāditya I (655-681 A.D.) of the Chalukya dynasty. It is a pure gold coin with a weight of 117 grains. Its diameter is 0.76". On both sides of the coin are seen a number of devices fixed by a die. The obverse of this coin contains a big boar facing right. It is protuberant and crude. In front of the boar, nearer the edge, is a lamp. Above the boar are symbols of the Sun, the moon, and between them is a floral design. Below the boar is the legend *Śrī Vikrama*. There is also another inscription above the boar which is highly indistinct.

The reverse of the coin shows a man standing facing left. His right arm is flexed and is on his right hip. There is a serpent with a raised hood in front. On one edge of the coin is seen a small boar facing left. On the left edge of the coin is seen the legend *Vikrama*. The same legend can be seen above the head of the serpent and also on the right edge of the coin. Thus the obverse contains three inscriptions in bigger and smaller types.

The discoverer of the coin, S. Ramayya, has argued at length to show that this coin was issued by none other than Vikramāditya I of the Badāmi line of the Chalukyas.³ The palaeography of the inscription makes it clear that this coin could not have been an issue of Kalyāṇa Chalukya ruler Vikramāditya VI who ruled in the twelfth century A.D. The letters of the legends on this coin are unmistakably in early Kannada of the seventh century A.D. This coin differs from the known coins of the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa in typology also. There were two kings in the Badāmi line of the Chalukyas having the same name Vikramāditya. The first king ruled from 655-681 A.D. and the second king

ruled from 733-745 A.D. Vikramāditya I had a longer reign and was a greater conqueror. It was he who freed his kingdom from the Pallavas immediately after coming to the throne. The rule of Vikramāditya II was of a shorter duration and uneventful. Hence we may assume that this gold coin was issued by Vikramāditya I.

Among the symbols on this coin, the interesting one is the standing figure on the reverse. Though it is difficult to identify this figure, it has been suggested that it may represent the king himself or the God Kārtikēya. From the faint traces of a peacock this figure could be better identified as Kārtikēya.

We have already seen that this gold coin weighs 117 grains. Perhaps, it was originally 120 grains. The usual standard of Southern coins is 55-60 grains while the Guptas had 120 grains. From this it appears that Chalukya Vikramāditya I imitated the Gupta gold coin standard in his issues. However, it has to be noted that this standard did not last long and the standard of 60 grains was soon restored.

In addition to the gold coin described above, Ramayya also discovered three more electrum coins (an alloy of gold and silver) of Chalukya Vikramāditya I.⁴ They are round coins with a diameter of 0.76". They weighed 153 grains. The coins contained 30% gold and 70% silver.

These coins are almost similar to those we have referred to above. But there are some minor variations which may be noted here. The boar on the obverse of the coin though crude is more distinct with thick legs and a heavy tail. But the most important difference is the presence of the word *rāja* in addition to *Śrī Vikrama*. So the legend on the obverse on one of these coins reads *Śrī Vikramarāja* in Kannada characters of the seventh century A.D. On the reverse, in addition to the figure of a person, there is what looks like a peacock feather. The reverse also contains inscriptions in Kannada characters. An inscription reads

Śrī Vikrama whereas the second legend can be clearly read as *Mahārāja*. The word *Mahārāja* is not seen on the gold coin referred to earlier. From the palaeography of the inscription and the typological similarity to gold coin of Vikramāditya I, these electrum coins also can be ascribed to the same king.

M. H. Krishna has illustrated two doubtful coins of the *Varaha* type and ascribes one of them to Pulakēśi I (540-566 A.D.).⁵ This coin is a double die struck coin with a weight of 57.2 grains and a diameter of 0.55". It is of inferior metal. On the obverse of the coin is a caparisoned boar to the right with the Sun and moon and pellet above. The reverse contains a large eight-petalled lotus.⁶ As the reverse contains a lotus which was predominantly a Kadamba symbol, Krishna thinks that this coin might have been issued by Pulakēśin I to commemorate Kirtivarman's victories over the Kadambas of Banavāsi.

Another coin of 57.2 grains is cup-shaped and roundish. On the obverse is seen a boar with a lotus above and five punchmarks such as *Śrī* in Kannada, eight-petalled lotus, a conch and a bow. Krishna thinks that this coin was an issue of the early Yādavas who were the subordinates of the Chalukyas. This attribution is highly doubtful. In all probability, this coin may belong to the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa.

Elliot has illustrated some coins and has ascribed them to the Chalukyas of Badāmi, purely on typological grounds.⁷ In one of them, of 66 grains, is seen an eight-rayed figure, *Chakra* or Sun on the obverse while the reverse is plain.⁸ Another coin contains on the obverse a boar and punches of conch, lotus, bow.⁹ Still another coin shows a well represented boar on the obverse and floral designs on the reverse.¹⁰ The remaining two coins are very elegant. They contain on the obverse a caparisoned boar and the Sun and moon above. The reverse contains a *Chakra* with eight spokes and is well ornamented.¹¹

Except the coins of Vikramāditya I which contain legends, all others have been attributed to the Chalukyas of Badāmi, mainly because they contain the boar as the most dominant symbol on them. In the present state of our knowledge of numismatics, they can be accepted as the coins of the Chalukyas of Badāmi.

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THE CHALUKYAS AND GUJARAT

DR. K. R. BASAVA RAJA

Political Condition in the 2nd half of the 6th Century A.D.

A brief sketch of the political situation obtaining in the North and the Deccan is *sine qua non* for a proper understanding of the contacts that the Chalukyas had with Gujarat and the consequences that followed.

It was about A.D. 500 that Gujarat stepped into history. Between A.D. 500 and 550 the first king of Gūrjaradēśa emerged on the stage of history. His name was Harichandra, otherwise called Rohilladhi, a *brāhmaṇa* versed in Vedas and *Śāstras*. Originally a *pratihāra* or Chamberlin of a certain king, he became a king himself.¹ Harichandra had two queens, one *brāhmaṇa* and the other a *kshatriya*. By the latter he had four sons Bhōgabhaṭa, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda. They captured Māṇḍavyapura, modern Mandor near Jodhpur, and built a fortress there.² The king of Gūrjaradēśa marched southward, subdued the king of Valabhi, vanquished the Kalachūris, crossed the Narmadā and planted a feudatory there.

Dadda I (C. 560–605 A.D.) of Lāṭa who was called *Gūrjjaranripativamśa* and who may be identified with the forth son of Harichandra, established himself at Nandipura, now a village called Nadeval near Broach. He invaded Lāṭa, defeated Nirihulaka, destroyed the Nāgas, and extended his rule to the Vindhya. He styled himself a *sāmanta* and was a feudatory of the king of Gūrjaradēśa.³

The Valabhi kings had under their control Khetamaṇḍala and other parts of Mālava. But between 571 A.D. and 588 A.D. Dhārāsēna II of Valabhi (561–591 A.D.) changed his title of *mahārāja* into *mahāsāmanta*.⁴ He was thus reduced to vassalage by some conqueror. Considering

the spread of the Gūjara power upto the Narmadā in about 580 A.D. it may be stated here that the overlord of Dhārāsēra must be the ruler of Gūjara line who had his capital at Bhīllamāla.

The king of Gūjara was formidable enough to fight against Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Śrī Harsha. He was not only kept sleepless by the king of Thāṇṇēśvar, but the latter also occupied Lāṭa, the domains of Dadda I, his son. But Prabhākaravardhana's conquest appears to be *digvijaya* raids only. This powerful king was none other than Harichandra himself.

While Maukharis were building an empire at Kanauj in the north, Pulakēśi I, the Chalukya, had captured Vātāpi, modern Badāmi in the Bijapur District of Karnataka, and founded a kingdom destined to play an important role in the history of India in general and the Deccan in particular.⁵

Buddharāja, the son of Sankaragaṇa, the Kalachuri king, was fighting tooth and nail to retain his hold over certain parts of Gujarat and had just recovered from the blow dealt to his power by the armies of Gūjaradēśa when Chalukya Maṅgalēśa, the brother of Kīrtivarma I, invaded Mālava and deprived him of it about 601 A.D.⁶

Before the Chalukyas invaded Lāṭa, the Sēndrakas were ruling over the Tāpti valley. The founder of the family fortunes was a certain Bhānuśakti *alias* Nikumbha, and was, perhaps, placed in charge of South Gujarat after the Chalukyas drove out the Kalachūris. The first three members of this line, viz., Bhānuśakti, Ādityaśakti, Allaśakti ruled in Gujarat and the fourth, viz., Jayaśakti in Khandesh. The Sēndrakas were ousted from Gujarat soon after 656 A.D.⁷

In 606 A.D. Śrī Harsha became the emperor in the North. Two years later in 608 A.D. Pulakēśi II succeeded to the Chalukya throne in the Deccan. This Pulakēśi II, with his warriors and elephants which marched to victory, was

the first to lay the foundation of Chalukya empire. He created a power which in the political field, for several centuries, made the emperors of the Deccan to bear arms against the rulers of the North and attempt at hoisting their flag of victory on the ramparts of the capital cities in the north. In the administrative, social, religious and cultural fields the consequences of the same were far too great. The creation of such a power was a great achievement of the early Chalukyas.

Jayabhāṭa, the Gūṛjara of Lāṭa, became the feudatory of the Chalukya emperor. It was in his time that an Arab fleet was despatched to Thāṇa and Broach (A.D. 636), and did some damage but was recalled under the orders of Caliph Omar. As a result of the protection which emperor Pulakēśi II extended to Jayabhāṭa and Dadda II, they were able to retain their position.⁸ The first Dravidian current lasted thus from about A.D. 610 till A.D. 730, for just over a century.⁹

Some of the outstanding results of these contacts may be set out here:

Unification of diverse territories

When the Chalukyas came into contact with Gujarat it was in the first stage of its political evolution. The establishment of a Chalukya line during the rule of Pulakēśi II was an important event in the history of ancient Gujarat because the Chalukyas not only unified these diverse territories but also gave it a line of mighty kings who determined for centuries the destinies of that region.

Chalukya dynasty

The Gujarat region that came under the political influence of the Chalukyas paved the way for the establishment of a branch of the Chalukya dynasty. The kinsmen of the Chalukya house were the founders of a new ruling family in Gujarat as it was the case of Vengi in Āndhrā. The

Gujarat branches are known as the Chalukyas of Nausāri and the Chalukyas of Anhilapatan. The latter was destined to play an important part in the history of Gujarat.¹⁰

Political Security

After his *digvijaya* campaign of A.D. 610-11, Pulakēśi II placed Lāṭa-maṇḍala in charge of his brother Dhārāśraya Jayasimhavarman, whose descendants held the territory until Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga came to power. Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin of this Gujarat Chalukya branch was ruling over Lāṭadēśa contemporaneously with the Gujarat king *Mahārājādhirāja* Karkarāja who must have subdued Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin or his descendant and occupied the whole of Lāṭadēśa with Khēṭaka, in the middle of the 8th century A.D. (C. 758). In his north Indian campaign of circa A.D. 804 Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III conquered the rulers of Lāṭa and made his brother Indra III the lord of Lāṭa-maṇḍala. The members of the conquered Rāshtrakūṭa branch Karkaria were finally driven out and subdued by Krishna II in about A.D. 880 and their territory was annexed to the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. Krishna's viceroy in Harshapura-prānta in Lāṭamaṇḍala was *Mahāsāmanta* Prachanda of Karnāṭaka. After sometime, this territory must have passed to the second Gujarat branch started by Indra III, which looked upon Karnāṭaka as its home province. This dynasty continued till the fall of the main Rāshtrakūṭa line when Paramāra Muñja occupied it. But, again the territory passed into the hands of Chalukya Taila II who uprooted Muñja in about A.D. 973. Soon after, Mūlarāja, the ancestor of Anhilwāḍ Chalukyas, killed Bārappa, the representative of Taila II in Gujarat and occupied Lāṭadēśa. During the subsequent period the destiny of Gujarat was tossed between the Paramāras, the Chalukyas, evidently the descendants of Gujarat branch of the Chalukyas of Badāmi and the Sēvuṇas of Devagiri until the Hindu kingdoms were engulfed by the Muslim invasions in the

13th-century A.D. Thus, for about five centuries, *i.e.*, from 7th to the 12th century A.D. Gujarat owed its political security to Karnāṭaka which likewise provided to Āndhra-deśa by implanting the Eastern Chalukya dynasty on the soil of Vengi-maṇḍala in the 7th century A.D.¹¹

Era of Greater Karnāṭaka

With the conquest of the Gujarat region the Chalukyas of Badāmi inaugurated the era of Greater Karnāṭaka. This conquest expanded the political sway of the Chalukyas of Badāmi and brought Gujarat into cultural contacts with Karnāṭaka. Of course, the military expedition brought in quick political results. But the cultural impact was slow and long enduring.¹²

Bulwark against early Muslim attacks

The Chalukya line established in Gujarat served as a bulwark against Muslim invasions. In the 4th decade of the 8th century A.D., the Muslim armies were making inroads into that region. They attempted to enter into the Deccan. But between 731 A.D. and 738 A.D. they met with disaster at the hands of Chalukya pulakēśi of the Gujarat branch, styled Avanijanāśraya, the brother and successor of Managaḷarāja.¹³ The Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya II duly recognised the great service rendered by his kinsman and feudatory. Thus the Chalukya line in Gujarat not only protected that region from Muslim attack but also prevented the spread of the same into the Deccan. The interests of both ancient Gujarat and the Deccan were served to the best by the Chalukyas.

Gujarat influence on the Deccan

While commenting upon the main currents in the ancient history of Gujarat Dr. Saletore observes ".....we have definite evidence of a peaceful conquest of the Dravidian country by the people of Gujarat in a manner which we

hardly come across anywhere in contemporary India. The four means by which the people of Gujarat overcame the Dravidian relate to the sphere of administration, commerce, colonisation and religion."¹⁴

These four means by which the people of Gujarat overcame the Dravidians have been explained with examples by this learned historian beyond the shadow of doubt. In the period following the Chalukyas of Badāmi, Gujarat gave administrators to Dravidian India. Officers like Maṇalārata, *Daṇḍanāyaka* Anantapāla, *Daṇḍanāyaka* Govindarasa were eminent administrators born in the families hailing from Gujarat.¹⁵

Intimate dynastic connections through marriages came to be established between the ruling families of the Deccan and Gujarat. Thus, for instance, Karṇa (A.D. 1064–1094), the son of Bhīma I belonging to the Anhilwāḍa house, married Mayamalladēvi, the daughter of Kadamba king Jayakēśi of Goa (A.D. 1050–1080). This was a Gujarat-Goa matrimonial relationship. Mayamalladēvi became the mother of the illustrious Siddharāja Jayasīmha, the most celebrated name in the history of Gujarat.¹⁶ Such instances of matrimonial alliances are also to be seen in the history of Kadambas of Goa and the Hoysalas of Dwārasamudra.¹⁷

The most abiding effect of the Gujarat is seen in the sphere of religion. Lakulīśa who settled down in Balligāmve in A.D. 1036 is the connecting link between Gujarat and the South.¹⁸ A grander link connecting South with Gujarat was the temple Somanātha in Saurashtra. Kings as well as the people of the Deccan came under the influence of this famous deity of Somanātha.¹⁹

Another strong link in the cultural history of Gujarat and the Deccan is afforded by a prominent Gujarat community which enriched the tradition of the South. This is that of the *Brahma-Kshatriya*, who were originally associated

with Saurashtra.²⁰ Thus for instance the celebrated general and statesman Chamuṇḍarāya serving under Ganga Rāchamalla IV, Udayāditya serving under Chalukya Somēśvara II belonged to this community.

In the field of literature also the influence of Saurashtra was deep and lasting. Thus, in about A.D. 1150 we have the poet Ādayya about whom another famous Kannada poet Rāghavāṅka (C. A.D. 1165) related the following: Ādayya was born in Saurāṣṭra. He came to Puligeṇe (Lakshmēśvar in the Dharwar District) where was the well-known temple of Sōmēśvara. He defeated the Jainas of that centre and wrote in Kannada a work called *Surāṣṭra Sōmēśvaralinga*.²¹ To what extent Gujarat loomed large in the eyes of the southerners is further proved by the work of another southern author. He was Sōmarāja, who belonged to the royal family of Chauṭas of the Western Coast. He seems to have lived about A.D. 1222. His major work is called *Śringārarasa* or *Udbhāṭa Kāvya*. It describes in Kannada the life and work of the famous king of Gujarat, Kumārapāla, who reigned from A.D. 1143 till A.D. 1174.²²

Thus the military exploits of the Chalukyas led to political contacts which brought about certain cultural results that were permanent in nature and far reaching importance.

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHALUKYAS IN ANDHRADESA

DR. (MRS.) PRATIBHA CHINNAPPA

After the Śātavāhana dynasty, the Chalukyas rose in Badāmi to claim imperial power in the Deccan. Pulakēśin II, the son of Kīrtivarman I, brought many kingdoms under his power and extended the Chalukya dominions far and wide. His power extended from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal.

After forcibly regaining his patrimony from his uncle Mangalēśa, Pulakēśin started on his *digvijaya* to subdue his enemies and strengthen his power. His Aihole inscription deals with his conquests, one by one. Ravikīrti mentions his subjugation of Piṣṭapura and the battle near the lake of Kuṇāla, after the conquest in Kōsala and Kalinga. Geographically these areas are contiguous. After his campaigns in the coastal Andhra country, he went against the Pallavas of Kāñchi.¹

In eastern Deccan, on the ashes of the Śātavāhana empire, rose many dynasties which had varying fortunes. After the Ikshvākus, Brihatpalāyanas, Pallavas and Śālan-kāyanas, the Viṣṇukunḍins ruled over the Vengi region. After the Chalukya conquest of Piṣṭapura, Vengi and Karmarāshṭra, a new dynasty rose in Andhra, founded by the younger brother of Pulakēśin II, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana or Viṣṇuvardhana I. As to when the area was conquered and from whom are matters of controversy. Dr. D. C. Sircar² and M. Somasekhara Sharma,³ hold 631 A.D. as the year of the Chalukya conquest of Vengi. Dr. Fleet⁴ and B. V. Kṛishna Rao⁵ put the year as early as 611 A.D. But Dr. N. Venkataramanayya⁶ declares that there is no evidence to support that Vengi was conquered in 611 A.D. He is certain that the conquest was effected in 624 A.D. or a little earlier. Moreover

the conquest was effected not in one campaign as the Aihole inscription suggests, but in stages. But R. S. Pancharukhi⁷ asserts that Vengi was conquered in the course of a single campaign as described by the Aihole inscription, and that it occurred before he began his reign from Vātāpi, *i.e.*, by about 610 A.D.

Those who hold 631 A.D., as the year of the conquest of Vengi, take the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśin II dated 631 A.D., as the basis for their conclusions. The inscription says that Pulakēśin being present himself in the Karmarāshtrā, bestowed the kingdom on his brother, the Prithviduvarāja, who with his prowess secured the kingdom to the lineage of his sons.⁸ Dr. N. Venkataramanayya traces the date from Chalukya Bhīma I's coronation, which occurred on the 17th of April 892 A.D.⁹ Tracing back, he arrives at the years 618 and 631 A.D. and thinks that it is between these two years that the conquest occurred. On the basis of the date of the Terala epigraph of a Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana, he arrives at 624 A.D. as the date.

The date of the Terala epigraph is given in A.R. 80 of 1929-30 as Sunday, *Kārtika*, Su. 5 of the Cyclic year *Bahudhānya*, corresponding to the 5th regnal year of a Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya identifies this king with Vishṇuvardhana II, whose 5th regnal year in *Bahudhānya* could be 678-79 A.D. From this he fixes the initial date of the eastern Chalukyas as 624 A.D. But the date of the Terala record is given in *A Catalogue of Inscription copied upto 1964* (ed. by Sri P. V. P. Sastry and revised by Dr. G. S. Gai) No. 301, as the 25th regnal year. If the latter reading is correct, then the king would not be Vishṇuvardhana II but Chalukya Bhīma I and the *Bahudhānya* would be 917-918 A.D. which corresponds with his 25th regnal year. Chalukya Bhīma had both the titles, Sarvalōkāśraya and Vishṇuvardhana, whereas Vishṇuvardhana II did not have the title Sarvalōkāśraya.

Then the fabric of the eastern Chalukya chronology built so deftly by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya collapses.¹⁰ Moreover the Māraṭūru copper plate grant of Pulakēśin II dated in his 8th regnal year corresponding to 616 A.D. mentions the presence of Pulakēśin II in Āndhradēśa. It says that in the “*Pravardhamāna rājyavijaya Śrī Varshēshṭame Piṣṭapurakadāna Kallūrapurāvasthitēna*”¹¹etc. It means that in his 8th regnal year Pulakēśin II halted at Kallūrapura, after capturing Piṣṭapura. Or if it is to be read as “*Piṣṭapurakadāna grahaṇānantaryena*” (R. S. Panchamukhi) it may mean that after receiving the tribute from Piṣṭapura, on his return, he halted at Kallūrapura. The presence of Pulakēśin II in Āndhradēśa and the fact that Piṣṭapura was already subjugated pushes the date of the conquest to 616 A.D. If Pulakēśin II had come to exact tribute (which was probably withheld) then the conquest would have been effected much earlier. Then Panchamukhi's deduction that the conquest occurred in 610 A.D., itself would prove correct.¹² The battle against Piṣṭapura and on the shores of the lake of Kuṇāla occurred in one campaign during the *digvijaya*. But from Vengi to Kāñchi is a long leap and subjugation of Karmarāshṭra is evidenced not in 616 A.D. but only in 631 A.D. Dr. N. Venkataramanyya's view that the conquest of Vengi and the establishment of Eastern Chalukya rule by 624 A.D. does not hold ground. The conquest occurred much earlier, before 616 A.D., or probably as early as 610 A.D.

Panchamukhi asserts that Pulakēśin II after his *digvijaya* over Piṣṭapura and Vengi against the Vishṇukundins bestowed the kingdom to the care of his brother and when they tried to recapture Vengi, he went to the aid of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, defeated the enemies and saw to it that the kingdom remained in his brother's family. If after his *digvijaya*, Pulakēśin had left his brother in control of Vengi, Vishṇuvardhana's presence should be noted in Āndhradēśa and in an official capacity. But he is not to be heard even in 616 A.D., in Vengi. On the other hand he was occupied

in southern Maharashtra, governing the country on the banks of the Bhīmārathi as late as 617-618 A.D.¹³ He is heard in Vengi only in 631 A.D. According to Pancha-mukhi the words “*Svasutānvyaye pratishṭāpita rājyasya*” in the Kopparam plates suggests that Vengi was already under the rule of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana and now in 631 A.D., he freed himself from the great peril of an enemy resurrection. Yet in 631 A.D., he was still a *Yuvarāja* (*Prithivīduva-rāja*). But Pulakēśin gave him the privilege of bequeathing the kingdom to his children. Vishṇuvardhana I was styled ‘*Mahārāja*’ only in his undated Tirumapuram plates and his Chipuraepalle plates dated in his 18th¹⁴ regnal year. The eastern Chalukya dynasty was founded after 631 A.D.

The Eastern Chalukyan chronology can be traced by the first definite date provided by the Attili grant of Chalukya Bhīma I. According to it Chalukya Bhīma I, celebrated his coronation on the 17th of April 892 A.D. Before him 12 kings ruled Vengi. And if the method of counting the first regnal year of the king from the first day of his reign, as adopted by Somasekhara Sharma is followed, we get an aggregate of 261 years. This would lead to (892-261) 631 A.D., as the initial year of the establishment of the dynasty of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana.

Scholars differ on the identity of the victims of the Chalukya conquest of coastal Andhra. Dr. D. C. Sircar and Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastry hold that it was the Vishnukundins who suffered at the hands of the Chalukyas and lost Vengi.¹⁵ Dr. N. Venkataramanayya contends that it was not the Vishnukundins but the Durjayas who lost Vengi to the Chalukyas¹⁶ while D.C. Sircar thinks that the Chalukyas won the *Karmarāshṭra* from the Pallavas, R. S. Pancha-mukhi suggests that the land was won from the Kalabhras.¹⁷

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya puts forward the tradition preserved in the Eastern Chalukya records from Guṇaga

Vijayāditya's time, that Viṣṇuvardhana destroyed or drove away the Durjayas and obtained *Vengi maṇḍala*.¹⁸ The Tandivada plates of Prithvīmahārāja of Piṣṭapura who belonged to the Raṇa-Durjaya family supports his deduction. They refer to a grant of the village of Tandivada to a great scholar called Bhavaśarma by Prithvīmahārāja, the ruler of Piṣṭapura, in his 48th year. He was the son of Vikramēndra and the grandson of Raṇa-Durjaya. The inscription belongs to the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya assigns it to C. 630 A.D. This would render Prithvīmahārāja a contemporary of the Chalukyas. It is strange that though Piṣṭapura was subjugated before 616 A.D., or even in 610 A.D., Prithvīmahārāja does not show any allegiance to the Chalukyas. Nor does he own any allegiance to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins as Panchamukhi opines. Only the name Vikramēndra, the father of Prithvīmahārāja betrays their original feudatory status under the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.¹⁹ But his son appears to have secured independence from the weak Viṣṇukuṇḍin rulers. Still the Durjayas appear only as the rulers of Piṣṭapura and the neighbourhood, and were not as important as were their overlords, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The Durjayas became popular in tradition only in later days. Even the Kākatīyas claimed their ancestry from the Durjayas.

The inscriptions of neither Viṣṇuvardhana I nor Jayasīma I mention their enemies by name. But the Polamuru plates of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin ruler, Mādhava Varma I and the Pulibumra plates of Chalukya Jayasīma I reveal from whom the *Vengi-vishaya* went over to the Chalukyas. The former refers to a grant of the *Polubura agrahāra* in the *Guddavāḍi-vishaya* by Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhava Varma in his 40th year to a great scholar, Śivaśarma. Śivaśarma was a resident of *Kuntūra* in Karmarāshṭra, belonged to the *Taittirīya* school, and the *Gautama Gōtra*. He was the son of Dāmaśarma, who was the son of Rudraśarma.²⁰

The Pulibumra plates²¹ refer to the grant of the same *agrahāra* here called Pulibumra in the *Guḍḍavādivishaya*, to Rudraśarma, a resident of *Asanapura*, who belonged to the *Gautama Gōtra* and the *Taittirīya* school. He was the son of Sivaśarman and the grandson of Dāmaśarman. The grant was made by Chalukya Jayasimha I in his 5th regnal year from his *Vijayaskandhāvara*.

The two villages Poluburu and Pulibumra are identified with Polamuru in the Bhīmavaram taluk of the west Godavari District. Dr. D. C. Sircar rightly identifies the two donee families. He gives a lapse of 50 years between the two grants when the *agrahāra* gifted by Vishṇukunḍin Mādhavavarma was regranted by Chalukya Jayasimha I to Sivaśarma's son Rudraśarma. This shows from whom the kingdom of Vengi changed hands. In *Karmarāshṭra*, it is not clear whether the Pallavas were in power or the Kaḷabhras, or the Vishṇukunḍins. The Kopparam plates state that Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana defeated the circle of enemies by his arm which was like a churning stick of the wicked (people) of the *Kali* (age). If the word *Kali* is taken to mean the people of the *Kali* age as Dr. N. Venkataramanayya translates,²² the enemies can be identified with the weak Vishṇukunḍins or the powerful and expanding Pallavas. If the word *Kali* is taken to refer the Kaḷabhras (R. S. Panchamukhi) then they must be given a place in *Karmarāshṭra* during 631 A.D. The Kaḷabhras or Kālīarasars, who had created great political confusion in the Tamil country at the close of the Sangam Age, were suppressed by Pallava Simhavishṇu. He was succeeded by his great son Mahēndra Varma Pallava I. His empire extended upto the borders of the Vishṇukunḍin kingdom.²³ When Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana along with Pulakēśin II invaded *Karmarāshṭra* by 631 A.D., already Mahēndra Varma Pallava (600-630 A.D.) was dead and his able son, Narasimha Varma Pallava had ascended the throne. From Simhavishṇu's time to the end of Mahēndra Varma Pallava is a long period for the

Kaḷabhras to survive in Karmarāshṭra and that too at the hands of such strong monarchs like Simhavishṇu and Mahēndra Varma.

The Viṣṇukunḍin chronology is replete with difficulties and scholars are so sharply divided on the subject, that it is difficult to know definitely if the Viṣṇukunḍins were still ruling in Karmarāshṭra. It is more likely that, Pula-kēśin II and Kubja-Vishnuvardhana took advantage of the death of Mahēndra Varma Pallava, invaded Karmarāshṭra and seized it from the grasp of the Pallavas.

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THE CHALUKYA-PALLAVA CONFLICT

DR. T. K. SESHADRI

In spite of the mutual cultural influences as evident in the resemblance* of the Paṭṭadakal Virūpakṣa temple of Vikramāditya II and the Kāñchi Kailāsanātha temple of Narasimhavarman II, the 'Rājasimha', unfortunately, most of the time, the Badāmi chalukyas and the Pallavas of Kāñchi were at constant conflict with each other so much that the Chalukyas called the Pallavas their 'natural enemies'.¹ It was, perhaps, as Sircar² points out, in tune with the many historical fights between the sovereign powers of the territories north and south of the river, Tungabhadra, respectively.

The conflict before the period of Pulakēśin II (C. 540-610 A.D.)

Dr. Fleet³ referred to the defeat of the Pallavas by Pulakēśin I. Later scholars, finding no evidence for such a reference, have ignored this stand. Dr. Srikanta Sastri⁴ wrote that Simhavishṇu despatched Mahēndravarman I into the Chalukya territory in the year 609 A.D., the period of Mangalēśa. This is not mentioned either by Prof. Desai⁵ or by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri.⁶

*The conflict under Pulakēśin II** (C. 610-642 A.D.)*

The march of Pulakēśin II as far as Kāñchi was checked at Pullalur by Mahēndravarman I. Dr. Srikanta Sastri took it probable that the Pallava ruler was killed in the

* Dr. K. V. Soundararajan sees no resemblance but contrast only.

** There are certain theories that the power that came into conflict with Mahendrarman I was the Western Ganga power and that the adversary of Pulakēśin II, during the latter's only march on Kāñchi, was Narasimhavarman I, *vide* Dr. Sircar's *Op. Cit.*, Dr. K. V. Ramesh takes that the Chalukya ruler made only one march on Kāñchi.

battle. Again, this time, during the reign of Narasimhavarman I, the Chalukya ruler attacked the territory of the Bāṇas, the Pallava feudatories, and then, on the Pallava dominion itself facing battles at the places like Sūramāra (in Anantapur District), Pāriyāla (Kurnool District) and Manimangala (Chingleput District) (*vide* Kuram plates⁷ of Paramēśvaravarman I).

In these battles, the Pallava ruler was assisted by the Ceylonese ruler Mānavarman, as the *Mahāvamsa* testifies. The Aihole⁸ inscription of Pulakēśin II states that he obscured the Pallava power and that the Pallava ruler disappeared behind the walls of Kāñchipuram. Narasimhavarman I, in reply, invaded the territory of the Chalukyas, defeated them, occupied Vātāpi and proclaimed the title '*Vātāpi-Koṇḍa*'. The Badāmi Mallikārjuna temple rock inscription bears testimony to the event. Pulakēśin might have died in the defence of the capital. Perhaps, basing himself on the account of the *Periapurāṇam* of Sekkilar, the biographer of the Tamil Śaiva Saints, the Nāyanārs, Prof. Sathianathier states that the Pallava ruler went to Badāmi, with his general Paranjoti (later Siruttoṇḍar Nāyanār). While Dr. Srikanta Sastri took the Paranjoti expedition historical, Dr. Desai did not. Dr. Mahalingam, interpreting the original Tamil line '*Mannavarukku Tondur Poi*', considers it historical only. The same inscription calls the Pallava ruler Narasimhavishnu and mentions on the continued Pallava occupation of the city for sometime.

The Dark period between (C. 642-655 A.D.)

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri suggests that the darkness of the period was caused by the Pallava ruler Narasimhavarman I, apart from the brothers of Vikramāditya I, namely Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya. But, Dr. Desai following Dr. Fleet, took that the disrupting forces were the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa powers. On the Pallava interregnum of the period, Dr. Mahalingam sees no controversy, while Dr. Gai accepts it for the time being.

Under Vikramāditya I (C. 655-681 A.D.)

According to the Gadval⁹ plates of the ruler, Vikramāditya successively fought against Narasimhavarman I, Mahēndravarman II and Paramēśvaravarman I (*Īśvara-pōtarāja*). According to Prof. Sathianathier, he got the title '*Rājamalla*' because of the defeat of the pallava '*Mahāmalla*', i.e., Narasimhavarman I. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri does not refer to his conflict with Narasimhavarman I. With the backing of the Western Ganga ruler Durvinita, he attacked Mahēndravarman II, who was killed¹⁰ by Vikramāditya I in the Ganga dominion. He fought against Paramēśvaravarman I at places like Malliyūr (Chingleput District) and Uracapura, i.e., Uraiyyūr⁺ (Tiruchirappalli District). In these southern campaigns,⁺⁺ the Chalukya ruler allied himself with the Western Ganga ruler Bhūvikrama and the Pāṇḍyan ruler Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Māravarman I. He was also assisted by his son, Vinayāditya and his grandson Vijayāditya. The Pallava ruler was defeated by the Ganga ruler at Vilande (in the Tumkur District) in which battle the Pallava jewel, '*Ugrodaya*', was lost to the Gangas to be taken back only later by Nandivarman II¹¹ in the third Vilande battle.* But the advancement of the Chalukya forces was checked at Peruvalanallūr** (Tiruchirappalli District) from where they had to withdraw.

+ Dr. V. Venkayya's identification of Uracapura with Uraiyyur stands accepted.

++ Dr. N. Venkataramanaiya refers to a confederacy of Pallava rulers in the Telugu region of the Pallava dominion led by Paramēśvaravarman I against the Chalukya ruler.

* On the third Vilande battle, Prof. Sathianathier takes that the Pallava ruler was killed by the Ganga ruler, a stand opposite to that of Prof. Sastri. The controversy over the Vilande battle including the number of battles is worth the debate, by the scholars.

** Prof. Sathianathier refers to the claim of Paramēśvaravarman I that he followed the Chalukya forces and captured Baḍāmi.

Vinayāditya (C. 681–696 A.D.)

The reigns of Vinayāditya and his successor Vijayāditya were of comparative peace only and the conflict continued. Vinayāditya is taken to have subjected '*Trairājya Pallava*', the contemporary ruler being Narasimhavarman II. Dr. Sircar doubts it.

Vijayāditya (C. 696–733 A.D.)

His Ulchala inscription states that the crown prince Vikramāditya II defeated the Pallava ruler Paramēśvaravarman II. In this, the Chalukya prince was aided by Duggamāra Eṇeyappa who killed the Pallava ruler and took the Pallava royal insignia, the umbrella.

Vikramāditya II (C. 733–745 A.D.)

Vakkaleri plates speak of the Chalukya conquest of *Tundaka rāshṭra* (Tondaimandala region, the heart of the Pallava dominion under the rule of Nandivarman II. In contrast to the nature of the attack of Narasimhavarman I on Badāmi, the Chalukya ruler bestowed the booty of his expedition on the Kāñchi Rājasimhēśvara (also' called Kailāsanātha) temple. The temple pillar inscription in Kannada records his endowments to the temple. His booty included the musical instruments¹² like '*Katumukha*' and '*Kaṭvāṅga*'.*

It may be mentioned here, that Prof. Nilakanta Sastri interprets that the title 'Vikramavarman' of Chitramāya, son of Mahēndravarmān III and a contestant for the Pallava monarchy after the death of Paramēśvaravarman II, indicates the support of the Chalukya ruler for his cause. Dr. Mahalingam endorses the stand, adding that Chitramāya had been crowned by Vikramāditya II.

The Kendalur plates of Kīrtivarman II refer to his attack, while the crown prince, on *Tundaka Vishya* and the

* While scholars like Dr. Sircar and Dr. Nandimath take them as musical instruments, Dr. Srikanta Sastri took them as titles.

defeat of Nandivarman II, his second defeat at the Chalukya hands.

Kirtivarman II (C. 745-757 A.D.) and the last phase of the conflict

His reign saw only the end of the Chalukya line which was replaced by that of Dantidurga Rāshtrakūṭa who, according to the Ellora plates had established his independence even by 742 A.D. and had even worked, positively, against Vikramāditya II by aiding his enemy Nandivarman II. Later, it is surmised that, in the light of the Rāshtrakūṭa ascendancy, there was an attempt by Kirtivarman II to reconcile to the Pallava position at Kāñchi and to seek their support against Dantidurga and that, soon, with an understanding between the two, both Dantidurga and Kirtivarman II had made a march against Kāñchi. However, the understanding was short-lived and, by 757 A.D., the end for Kirtivarman II and his family came with an attack on the Chalukya ruler by the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Krishṇa I.

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THE CHALUKYA - GANGA RELATIONS (A.D. 500 to 757)

G. R. RANGASWAMIAH

The Chalukyas of Badāmi and the Gangas of Talkad were contemporary powers. The Gangas established their political authority in the Southern part of Karnataka, a century prior to the Chalukyas who made themselves prominent in the northern part. Over a period of time the Chalukyas established their hegemony over a vast part of the Deccan and their imperial sway was felt in Central India and Southern part of Gujarat. They put an end to several ancient ruling families like the Kadambas of Banavāsi and held the reins of power as supreme masters till A.D. 757 when they went into oblivion as a result of the rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Gangas of Talkad continued to enjoy their political importance for a few centuries more even after the dismemberment of the Chalukya dynasty. Obviously the fact emerges that there was good understanding between the two and their relations were quite cordial. In this connection several questions arise regarding the nature of their relations, such as whether the Gangas accepted the overlordship of the Chalukyas for their survival or the Chalukyas wanted the Gangas to remain intact to act as a buffer state between their kingdom and that of the Pallavas who were their enemies or whether the Chalukyas received some help from the Gangas during their early political career and even afterwards and treated them with cordiality and on the footing of equality.

Although the Chalukya-Ganga relations form an important and interesting chapter in the history of ancient Karnataka, it has somehow escaped the notice of the scholars. Perhaps the dearth of historical material must have been the reason for this. The literary sources throw no light on this aspect. Therefore, one has to depend entirely on

epigraphical records, which also yield very slender evidence. However, an attempt is made here to evaluate on the Chalukya-Ganga relations making use of the available documents.

The Chalukya-Ganga relations start from the beginning of Vijayāditya's reign who was the father of Jayasimha. A few Ganga records throw light on the political relations that prevailed and the matrimonial alliance that was contracted between the two houses in the early decades of the sixth century A.D. In the Gummareddipura plates of Durvinīta, it is stated that the Ganga sovereign defeated the Pallavas and the Rāshtrakūṭas who made a concerted attempt to put an end to the power of the Chalukyas and that Duvinīta, the Ganga monarch saved the Chalukya house from extinction and that he established his grandson (daughter's son) Jayasimha on the latter's ancestral throne.¹ This is a genuine record and it is engraved in the 40th year of Durvinīta by Konguṇi Perudattakara of the lineage of Kuṇāchārya. The above event is also described in a later record² of Shimoga District. This inscription states that "Durvinīta having defeated the Kaduvetti (Pallava) who was like Rāvaṇa, established his daughter's son, Jayasimha Vallabha on the hereditary throne". It also refers to the death of Vijayāditya, the father of Jayasimha in the battle against Kaduvetti. Further the Chellur grant of Virā Chōla also refers to the battle that was fought between Chalukya Vijayāditya and the Pallava king. It is clear from the above that Durvinīta's daughter was married to Chalukya Vijayāditya who was defeated and killed by the Pallava king. At this juncture Durvinīta hurried to the support of his grandson and by defeating the Kaduvetti, installed him on his hereditary throne.

In connection with the reigning period of the above monarchs a few chronological and genealogical problems arise. On this issue several scholars like R. Narasimhachar,

S. Srikanta Sastri and others have bestowed their attention and have discussed the problem at length.

There is a lot of controversy and confusion relating to the chronology of the early Gangas. Different scholars have suggested different dates to Durvinīta. According to B. L. Rice, Durvinīta ruled between A.D. 517 and A.D. 550.³ M. V. Krishna Rao places Durvinīta to the later half of the 6th century A.D.⁴ R. Narasimhachar assigns him to the first half of the 6th century.⁵ S. Srikanta Sastri on the basis of the Hebbata grant,⁶ which is besides being a genuine one, gives verifiable astronomical details of his date, concludes that Durvinīta ruled between A.D. 495 and A.D. 535. To sum up, Rice, Narasimhachar and Srikanta Sastri are unanimous in assigning Durvinīta first half of the sixth century as his ruling period. It was exactly at this period, the Chalukya dynasty was making its appearance and its early rulers were straining every nerve to carve out their fortune. It is an accepted fact that Jayasimha was the grandfather of Pulakēśi I according to several records. Thus the contemporaneity of Jayasimha's father Vijayāditya and Durvinīta is established.

It has to be recalled in this connection that Durvinīta was one of the outstanding monarchs of the Ganga dynasty. Himself a scholar of great fame, he patronised men of letters and scholars. He was a remarkable warrior and defeated⁷ the Pallavas in several battles like Ālattur, Andheri and Purulāre. He was a monarch well versed in state craft. He was endowed with political fore-sight and great diplomatic skill. In the early stage of his career when he had to encounter the Pallavas, he sought an alliance with the newly established Chalukyas. He steadily strengthened his position and defeated the Pallavas. Frustrated by the might of Durvinīta, they attacked Chalukya Vijayāditya and killed him in the battle. At this critical hour, Durvinīta rallied to the support of the Chalukyas, defeated the Pallavas and placed his grandson,

Jayasimha on the Chalukya throne. This was indeed an unforgettable help that he rendered to the Chalukya house for which it became almost obligatory on the part of that royal family to remain friendly to the Gangas. The policy of friendship and goodwill that the farsighted Durvinīta inaugurated by establishing political and matrimonial relationship continued till the end of the Chalukya dynasty. Thus the timely succour of Durvinīta to Chalukyas, saved them from collapse.

After the death of Durvinīta, his son Mushkara came to the Ganga throne in A.D. 535 and ruled upto 585. He was the contemporary of the Chalukya king Pulakēśi I and his son Kīrtivarman I. The records at our disposal help us very little to throw some light on the Chalukya-Ganga relationship during this period. However, the Mahākūṭa inscription mentions that Kīrtivarman conquered the kings of Aṅga, Vanga, Kalinga, Magadha, Madraka, Kērala, Ganga, Pāṇḍya, Dramila and so on.⁸ Many of these territories were far away and it is doubtful whether Kīrtivarman I had anything to do with these conquests. Further in the absence of corroborating evidence it is highly difficult to believe the long list of his vast conquests as facts. Instead it can be said that the above description seems to be a conventional practice followed by professional men who were so well versed in showering high praises and encomiums on their patrons. The same kind of relationship continued even during the reign of Śrīvikrama son of Mushkara who was in power from A.D. 585 to 635. The records of Mangalēśa are also silent about the Gangas, although many of his conquests are recorded in his grants.

As soon as Pulakēśi II came to the Chalukya throne in A.D. 610, he commenced his *digvijaya* campaigns. The Aihole inscription merely records that Pulakēśi subjugated the Gangas along with several other powers.⁹ But it says nothing beyond that either about the war that Pulakēśi

fought or the way in which he reduced the Gangas. No other inscription either of the Gangas or of the Chalukyas makes any reference to such an event. However, an inference can be drawn here to the effect that it was not impossible for Pulakēśi II to reduce the Gangas. But in view of the fact that he had to cross the Ganga country to go to over power the Pallavas, the Ganga king might have cooperated with the Chalukya ruler, as he was equally anxious to reduce the prominence of the Pallavas in South India. Possibly the Ganga troops might have accompanied the Chalukya forces against the Pallavas.

Śrīvikrama's son Bhūvikrama ruled independently in the Kolar region from A.D. 608 and after his father's death in A.D. 635, became the overlord of the whole of Ganga-vāḍi as indicated by his Bedirur grant,¹⁰ and the Halligere inscription of Śivamāra I.¹¹ Bhūvikrama was constantly engaged in a war with the Pallavas. It was during this period that the Chalukya house was passing through the vicissitudes of adverse fortune. The Pallava king Narasimhavarman I occupied Badāmi and for about thirteen years kept the Chalukya house in abeyance. The death of Pulakēśi II in the siege of Badāmi and the occupation of the southern part of the Chalukya kingdom was considered by Bhūvikrama as a personal challenge and it became the avowed objective of both the Chalukya king Vikramāditya I and the Ganga king Bhūvikrama to over power the Pallavas.

The Halligere grant mentions the memorable victory obtained by Bhūvikrama through a bold display of his bravery, heroism, and valour against the Pallava adversary in a vigorous style. It states that Bhūvikrama conquered "the Pallavēndra *Narapati* in a terrible battle at Vilande, trodden to powder by the feet of hundred elephants, maddened with the streams of blood of the warriors, forced opened by all manner of weapons, called the Rājā Śrīvallabha in the enjoyment of fortune obtained by victory in a hundred

fighths, having made the Pallava to hastily take up his abode in a hill fort, hiding behind the leafy branches, brought into subjection the whole of his terriotry and seized his jewel necklace.”¹²

Several inscriptions of Vikramāditya I mention his prolonged wars with the Pallavas and the defeat of Īśvara-pōtarāja (Paramēśvaravarman I) and the occupation of Kāñchi.¹³ Although, Vikramāditya's records do not mention the participation of the Ganga king in these wars, it is obvious that Bhūvikrama rallied to the support of the Chalukya king, for the Ganga king on his own (and that too single handed) would not have engaged himself in such deadly wars with the Pallavas for so long a period. There was another strong reason as to why Bhūvikrama took such a vigorous step in support of the Chalukyas against the Pallavas. The relationship between the two royal houses of Karnataka was quite cordial from the very beginning, and it had been established on a permanent basis as a result of matrimonial alliances. The Gadval grant issued in the 20th regnal year of Vikramāditya I's reign provides an indirect clue to explain that Bhūvikrama was closely related to the Ganga house.¹⁴ It mentions that Gangamahādēvi was Vikramāditya's favourite queen. Though her father's name is omitted in this grant, yet it is quite evident that she was a princess of the Ganga family, the daughter of Bhūvikrama. Thus the cordial political ties cemented by matrimonial relationship must have drawn the Ganga king to the succour of the Chalukya ruler Vikramāditya. Further it can be pointed out here that the Pallavas of Kāñchi since the time of Durvinīta had become the enemies of both the Gangas and the Chalukyas. As the Kāñchi ruler was the common enemy of both Bhūvikrama was prompted by a strong urge to deliver a striking blow at the Pallava by engaging him in a terrible fight. Thus while the brothers of Vikramāditya kept themselves aloof in this struggle against the Pallavas, the Ganga monarch Bhūvikrama extended his

full support to Vikramāditya in order to revive and regain the fallen fortunes of the Chalukya house.

Vikramāditya I was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya in A.D. 682. His reign is also marked by a continuous struggle with the Pallavas. His counterpart on the Ganga throne was Śivamāra the son of Bhūvikrama. He was in power from A.D. 679 to 725. Neither the Chalukya nor the Ganga records throw any light on their political relations. However, certain records of Vinayāditya mention that with the help of his feudatories like the Ālupas and the Gangas, he subjugated the Pallava, Kaḷabhra, Kērala, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Haihaya, Malva and others. Whatever may be the truth regarding his subjugation of these powers, the fact remains that he continued the dynastic feud with the Pallavas successfully. At the same time we find Śivamāra fighting several wars with the Pallavas. The Halligere grant as well as the Dibbur grant furnish a detailed account of his victory against the Pallavas.¹⁵ It was on account of these victories he assumed the titles like *Avani Mahēndra*, *Sthiravinīta*, *Lokadhūrta* and *Dēvaraja*. From the fact that he secured victories against the Pallava and obtained various titles, it is obvious that his relations with the Chalukyas were cordial and happy. There is no sufficient information to assert that a war was fought between the Chalukyas and the Gangas and that the former, reduced the latter to the position of vassalage. However, the Sorab¹⁶ and the Harihara¹⁷ grants clearly mention that the Ālupa king was his vassal whereas not a single grant mentions the Gangas as the feudatory of that house.

Vinayāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya in 696 A.D. He ruled upto A.D. 733. Similarly after Śivamāra, Muttarasa better known as Śrīpurusha came to the throne in Gangavāḍi and ruled till A.D. 788. During the reign of Vijayāditya and his successor Vikramāditya II, the relationship with the Gangas continued to be quite

friendly and cordial. Matrimonial contact between the two royal families continued. The Islampur¹⁸ inscription of Muttarasa states that his queen Vijayamahādēvi was a Chalukya princess. It may be conjectured here that Vijayamahādēvi was the daughter of Vikramāditya II. Vikramāditya was succeeded by Kīrtivarman II. Kīrtivarman II (A.D. 733-757) was the last of the Chalukya rulers of Badāmi. Towards the close of his reign, the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga became powerful, delivered a fatal blow to the royal house of Badāmi and occupied its throne in A.D. 757. Śrīpurusha, the Ganga monarch, continued to rule Gangavāḍi even after the extinction of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. A question arises as to why did he not rush to the help of Kīrtivarman II. Several of his inscriptions record that he was engaged in continuous wars with the Pallavas and his feudatories. Perhaps on account of his pre-occupation with the Pallavas, he could not go to the help of Kīrtivarman. However, the Gangas did not reconcile themselves to the changed circumstances. They stubbornly resisted the Rāshtrakūṭa might in the midst of misfortune rather than accept a position of tutelege. They reconciled to the Rāshtrakūṭas only when Amoghavarsha Nripatunga came with an offer of a matrimonial alliance and gave his daughter in marriage to one of the Ganga princes.

Thus in the conclusion, it can be pointed out that the Chalukya-Ganga relations form an important aspect of study in Karnataka history. No other two contemporary neighbouring powers in the whole of Karnataka history, did ever unite to champion a common cause namely to keep the territorial integrity of this region from the encroachments of powerful enemies, as the Chalukyas and the Gangas did. Again no two contemporary powers stood shoulder to shoulder for such a long time enjoying a lot of mutual trust and confidence contracting matrimonial alliances and building up their political relations on the footing of equality like the Chalukyas of Badāmi and the Gangas of Talkad. Unfortu-

nately, it may be pointed out here that many scholars treat the Gangas as the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas basing their view on a very few casual references in one or two Chalukya records which can be considered as mere conventional and a customary practice. There is not even a single record which specifically mentions the Gangas as the feudatory of the Chalukyas. On the other hand, the Ganga kings of this period like Durvinīta, Bhūvikrama, Śivamāra and Śrīpurusha were all remarkable rulers who took a name on the field of battle and assumed titles like *Konguṇi Mahārajādhirāja*, *Dakṣiṇarājya Samarashana samartha*, *Śrīvallabha*, *Dēvarāja* and so on, which speak of their prominence as an independent sovereign power. Hence it is highly doubtful whether the Gangas ever acknowledged the Chālukya overlordship. On the other hand, M. V. Krishna Rao rightly observes that the Chalukyas regarded the Gangas with great deference and respect and in the Chalukya inscriptions the Gangas are distinguished by the epithet *Mūla* which means ancient and of original unmixed descent. Such respect and regard was not at all extended to any other royal house by the Western Chalukyas. In view of the three powerful factors, namely, the valuable help the Gangas rendered to the Chalukyas, the matrimonial connections that existed between the two houses and the common enmity of the two dynasties towards the Pallavas, a situation was brought about whereby the Chalukyas had to treat the Gangas with due consideration and sometimes even on the level of equality.

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IMPACT OF THE CHALUKYAN RULE ON THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF DECCAN

DR. B. K. GURURAJA RAO

The Chalukyas of Badāmi, who came to power in the middle of the 6th century A.D. were in a way the trend setters in the history of Karnataka, nay, in the history of Deccan. No doubt there were earlier ruling dynasties in this part of the country like the Śātavāhanas and Kadambas in the Deccan and the Gangas in the Mysore Country. But they ruled their kingdoms according to the customs and traditions inherited from their neighbouring and to some extent, preceding ruling houses. Thus the Śātavāhanas who were the subordinates of the Mauryas, Śuṅgas and Kaṇvas, carried on their administration and other state activities on the lines of the those north Indian institutions. The Kadambas inherited their statecraft and socio-economic traditions through other intermediaries from the Śātavāhanas. The early Gangas on the other hand had imbibed the politico-socio-economic traditions that pervaded the society of the earlier times. Under these circumstances, there is very little to distinguish the contributions of these dynasties individually or together to the formation of the culture of Karnataka in particular and Deccan in general.

But we stand on a different footing when come to the time of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. The period of the Chalukyas of Badāmi may be considered as the formative period of Karnataka culture. The foundation of a number of administrative institutions, economic traditions, social customs and architectural norms were laid under the aegis of the Chalukya rulers; and they continued to develop and be improved upon during the later centuries, and supplied the basis for culture till almost the end of the Vijayanagar period. What may be termed the Karnataka culture began to take shape from this period in the various fields—the

political, economic, social, literary and also the architecture and sculpture.

To begin with, the Chalukyas adopted the administrative institutions that prevailed in the country before they came to power. But, in course of time, they modified the existing customs or introduced new ones according to the exigencies of the times.

They were responsible for bringing the professions under the purview of the local bodies like the village and town councils. These local bodies had the responsibility of collecting the taxes due to the royal treasury and excise levies on manufactured goods. They were armed by the powers granted to them by the central government, powers they assumed for themselves according to the traditions as also powers enjoyed both by themselves and the king. They were in fact the intermediaries between the subjects and the king. They were composed of the representatives of the people. They encouraged mainly agriculture, trade and industry but arts and crafts also received suitable encouragement at their hands. Inscriptions speak of these bodies which were known to be discharging their duties without personal or communal prejudices purely with the motto of serving the community. They also contain references to the devotion of the members of these bodies to their duties, their proficiency in education, the use of language and their administrative abilities.

Among the most notable of these village and town councils may be mentioned the institution of *Mahājanas*. These bodies looked after the public affairs of the communities, the land grants given to the temples and other public utilities. The members of these bodies were generally the learned *Brāhmaṇas* of the village or town but rare references to non-brahmin members are not wanting. *Mahājanas* acted as trustees of the common property, the gifts and grants to public institutions. They took steps to propa-

gate education, construct irrigation tanks and canals, build or renovate temples and arrange for regular worship in them. They also looked after the dispensation of justice both civil and criminal, among the subjects, within their jurisdiction. The finances required for the discharge of these duties were collected from the people. The central government appointed *Gāmuṇḍas*, *Karaṇas* who maintained the village accounts, collected the revenues to the royal treasury and performed such other functions. The powers and duties of these village bodies and the central government are defined by an inscription at Laxmēśvar belonging to times when prince Vikramāditya was ruling in that region. Thus Chalukyas made well defined arrangements for local administration,¹ which was continued with modifications in later times.

Turning to the central administration, the Chalukyas were again among the first rulers in Deccan to build an extensive empire. To facilitate the proper administration, they divided the kingdom into various divisions. But these divisions were probably not uniform throughout. They started the practice of calling the provinces after the name of a region followed by a numerical suffix like Puṇigere-300, Belvola-300, Banavasi-12000 etc. Though there was considerable argument over the connotation of the numerical suffix, now it is agreed among some noted historians and epigraphists that it signifies the number of villages included in that province. If this interpretation is accepted, it becomes evident that it helped the state in the administration of the province especially in revenue affairs. The size of each province was thus well defined. This custom continued down to the Hoysala and Sēuṇa times. Following the earlier custom, they allowed some of the defeated kings to continue to rule their original territories and enjoy full autonomy provided they accepted a nominal suzerainty of the emperor, paid a periodical tribute to the central treasury and assisted the emperor in times of war. But most

of the territory was directly ruled by the emperor himself. When the territory became extensive, for administrative convenience they divided the kingdom into provinces and started the practice of appointing the princes, other royal kinsmen or their trusted lieutenants to be provincial governors. They were variously designated as *Vishayapatis*, *Sāmantas* etc. These institutions became regular offices in the later history of Deccan and gave rise to *Maṇḍalēśvaras* and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*. The tradition of dividing the territory into *Maṇḍalas*, *Vishayas*, and such other administrative divisions may be considered to be the contribution of the Chalukyas, particularly in the history of Deccan.

In the field of economic administration also their contribution is noteworthy. The Laxmēśvar inscription referred to above speaks of the taxes the local bodies had to pay to the royal treasury. The rates of taxes to be paid to the *Dēśādhipatis* are prescribed. These taxes had to be paid in the month of *Vaiśākha* every year. Another tax had to be paid to the Guild (*śenī*), probably, of the merchants. The house owners had to pay taxes according to their status. People had to pay some taxes on occasions of festivities, some others are market dues and tolls. *Merauncha*, *Āditya-uncha*, *Unchamanna* and *Marumanna* are some local land taxes. Some tax on salt was also being imposed. Besides these, some taxes were imposed on special occasions. At the time of the conquest of the Bāṇa country by Pulakēśi II, a tax called *terepon* was imposed on the conquered people. Taxes in kind like oil, sugar, betel leaves were imposed on shops for the use of temples as known from an inscription at Badāmi of the time of Vijayāditya. Thus varieties of taxes and duties were introduced by these rulers which continued to be collected by the later dynasties.

The Chalukyas were again the first rulers to standardise the weights and measures like the *Kuḷa* or *Koḷuga* (of 64 seers)—a measure of grain, *mattar* a measure of land which

was given the official seal under the name of *Rājamāna* or royal measurement.

The Chalukya rulers built a strong and well organised army which continued to play a pre-eminent roll—the *Karnāṭaka bala*—the Karnataka army of the Chalukyas which is often mentioned in highly eulogistic terms in the inscriptions of later times. Dantidurga, the founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, takes pride in having defeated the “*Karnāṭakabalaṁ Ajēyyam*”. But this force was not disbanded with the fall of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. It continued its existence for the next two centuries of Rāshtrakūṭa rule and ironically enough it is with the help of this very Chalukya *Karnāṭakabala* that Taila brought to earth the Rāshtrakūṭa might and hoisted again the Chalukya flag of victory.

With the help of this mighty force, the Chalukyas built up an extensive kingdom—the homogeneous state embracing all the divisions that existed in earlier epochs—Karnata (?), Kuntala, Vanavāsa, Gōmāntaka, Konkaṇa, Punnāṭa, Mahishamaṇḍala etc. Thus the Chalukyas of Badāmi took the credit for a single homogeneous Karnataka country which, though, has undergone many political vicissitudes during the later ages, has, on the whole, retained its wholesome identity as the land of the Kannada speaking people. By this act of political unification, the Chalukyas, nay, that mighty and overawing figure of Pulakēśi II, laid the foundations of a nation which has, with great distinction, adorned the history of India throughout the succeeding ages.

This inspiring wholesome concept of a Karnataka nation and the geographical situation—extending from the Godāvarī, in the north to the Kāvērī in the south, spurred its rulers and the people in its entirety, for greater achievements in different fields. As we have already seen, their achievements in the field of political administration, corporate life, civic organisation and economic and fiscal arrange-

ments are pioneering efforts which were emulated by the later ruling dynasties of Deccan in general and Karnataka in particular. But still more noteworthy are their contribution in the field of social life, literature, art and architecture.

In the field of social life though they followed the traditional customs of *Varṇāśrama dharma* and allowed a respected position to the Brahmins, who served the other classes by guiding them in the field of religion, learning and a moral and ethical life, we find that other heterodox systems like Jainism and Buddhism were not only tolerated but given considerable patronage. The saints and scholars of these religions were entertained in the royal court and were appointed to high positions. Hieun Tsang testifies to the fact that hundreds of Buddhist monks lived in the court and *stūpas* and *vihāras* were in flourishing condition. The patronage shown to Jainism is well known by the position occupied by Ravikīrti and also the Jaina temples that were known to have been constructed under the royal patronage. The *Kālāmukha* sect of Śaivism appeared in Karnataka during this period and continued to flourish till the advent of Basava in the 12th century A.D.

The kings and the royal court not only gave liberal patronage to the various religious sects but took an active but healthy interest in their proper behavior and maintenance. This policy of religious toleration, patronage to all religions, regulating their conduct when they went astray are the features that we notice in the history of various dynasties in medieval Karnataka. Rāshtrakūṭa, Kalyāṇa Chalukya, Hoysala, Sēuṇa and Vijayanagar administrations are characterised by this tolerance in their religious outlook. *Ārya Saṅghas* and Assemblies of Saints were existing which looked after the religious interests of the people. Besides people of different professions had organised their own guilds. Among them existed a school of famous architects and craftsmen the *Sarvasiddhi Āchāris*, which we will have occasion to refer later on. These guilds

and *śēṇis* played a very important role in the socio-economic organisation of the medieval Karnataka. Besides guilds like the “*Ayyāvoleya Aynūrvaru*”, the five hundred of Aihole controlled and regulated the economic life not only in Karnataka but extended its sway all over South India in later times. Such institutions were founded for the first time during the Chalukya rule.

Again it is during this period that the famous educational institutions like the *Agrahāras* and *Brahmapuris* became prominent. Though such institutions were first founded under the Kadambas, the rulers of this dynasty extended royal patronage, founded new institutions and thus stabilised them as centres of higher education. These institutions played a very important part in the medieval times in the spread of education. Famous Sanskrit scholars flourished during this period but the greatest contribution of the Chalukya period in the field of learning is their role in the origin and growth of Kannada language and literature. Of course, no famous author or poet in Kannada letters is known to us. But Vijayabhaṭṭārikā the wife of Chandrāditya, the eldest son of Pulakēśi II is described as proficient both in Sanskrit and Kannada. Her Sanskrit composition *Kaumudī Mahōtsava* is one of the noted works in the field of Sanskrit drama. But her Kannada compositions have not come down to us. But later Kannada writers hail her as one of the earliest Kannada writers. She has called herself as *Karnāṭi*, a clear indication of her love for Kannada literature and pride of belonging to the Karnataka heritage. The foundations of Kannada language and literature were securely laid during this period and paved the way for its growth in the later period.

The greatest contribution of the Chalukyas was probably in the field of art and architecture. Temples were no doubt, built and sculptures were chiselled in the earlier epochs under the Śātavāhanas, their feudatories and later on under the Kadambas and the early Gangas. But these construc-

tions and images were modelled on their counterparts elsewhere in the country. Very few of these construction have survived down to our times and hence it is very difficult to know the stylistic and decorative innovations over those of the earlier creations. No doubt, one form of *Śikhara* in Deccan architecture, the *Rēkhānāgara Prāsāda*, has been attributed to the Kadamba architecture but the actual specimens of this form of *Śikhara*, available to us, come mostly from the Chalukya times. Very few of the sculptures of allegedly pre-Chalukya times have survived. Among them may be mentioned the Buddhist sculptures from Sannati and the adjoining Andhra country belonging to the times of the Śātavāhanas and their feudatories. They belong to the general style prevalent all over the country with very few regional characteristics.

But under the Chalukyas of Badāmi, architecture entered a new vigorous phase. At Badāmi we see their attempts at evolving anew a style of their own in the art of creating the religious edifices. The cave temples on the hillock at Badāmi represent their efforts at chiselling away the living rock to create the abodes of the Gods. These caves date from the times of Mangalēśa and follow the earlier Buddhist models spread all over western Deccan and attained great appreciation everywhere. But in the field of structural temples, we find at Badāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal various evolutionary stages in the building of temples. The Upper Śivālaya at Badāmi consists of a single-celled sanctum with a very simple uni-storied *Śikhara*. We find the next step—a front porch added to the sanctum in the Lower Śivālaya and further elaborations by the additions of a *mukhamanṭapa*, *navaranga*, *antarāla*, etc., in other temples. Similarly the use of pillars which themselves undergo evolutionary process, the elaboration of the *Śikhara* with a series of pyramidal stories laid one above the other, can also be studied here. Of greater interest is the fact that under the Chalukya patronage the architects busied themselves in

constructing temples on the model of the contemporary Gupta or *Nāgara* style in the Central and North India on the one hand and Pallava or the Dravidian type of religious structures flourishing to their south. Aihole, the city of temples as it is rightly described, has upwards of a hundred temples belonging not only to the above mentioned two styles but also illustrating the attempts of the architect of bringing about a new style, the *Vēsara*, in which we can see the attempts at a harmonious blending of both the southern and northern styles.

Paṭṭadakal or *Kisuvolal*, the third and one of the most important centres of their creations, is rightly described by Fergusson as the workshop of the Chalukya architecture, where they experimented in the process of evolving the most suitable style of temple to suit their genius. The result is the emergence of the *Vēsara*. While the Sangamēśvara, Pāpanātha, Jambulinga, Kāśī Viśveśvara and others represent the Northern style, the two temples of Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna caused to be built under the benevolence of Lokamahādēvī and Trailokyamahādēvī, the queens of Vikramāditya II, represent the magnificence of their workmanship in the Southern style.

The architects responsible for the construction of these numerous shrines had organised themselves into a school or guild known as *Sarvasiddhi Āchāris*. Chaṭṭara Rēvaḍi Ōvajja was the leader of these architects who built the Virūpāksha temple. These master architects had spread the field of their activity not only over Karnataka but had extended it into Tamil country also. Some of them had come from Kāñchi at the times of Chalukya Pallava contacts in war and peace.

Thus, the Chalukyas can be credited to have started a distinctive tradition of architecture which evolved step by step in the succeeding epochs. The later Chalukya rulers improved this style of architecture to a great extent and

under the Hoysaḷa patronage, it carried the Karnataka architecture to the peak of glory.

The Chalukya period may, therefore, be regarded as the period when the Karnataka culture—its political, social, religious, literary and artistic—came to assume a distinctive personality. All that is outstanding and eminent in this Kannada country may be said to have been started under the benevolent eyes of these rulers. A small province was raised to the status of an empire which, keeping at bay the great Harshavardhana in the north and the tenacious Pallavas in the south, raised itself into a pre-eminent position. The fame of its invincible army was praised in later ages. They were known for their heroic and righteous way of warfare. The Kannada language and literature entered the field and everafter has been making greater and still greater progress. Ultimately two of the greatest personalities among the Kannadigas of all the ages, who stand out as towering personalities, belong to this period—Pulakēṣi II—Paramēśvara, Dakṣiṇāpatheśvara, and his daughter-in-law, the great Samskrit and first *Karnāṭaka Sarasvatī*.

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RELIGION UNDER THE CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI

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Religion has played an important part in moulding the life of the people of India. The rule of the Chalukyas of Badāmi is no exception to this. It was in the very blood of the rulers and their subjects to respect religion and to act according to the rules laid down in the *smritis* and *purāṇas*. The followers of Buddhism and Jainism who differed from the Vedic religion followed their own religious precepts. All these religions advocated kindness, non-violence (*ahimsa*), peace, etc., that formed the broad and basic principles of every religion. But there were a few religious cults that preached odd types of worship and practised a strange way of living.

The Chalukyas of Badāmi (circa 543-757 A.D.) were the political successors of the Kadambas of Banavāsi. They wrested the kingdom of the Kadambas by the middle of the 6th century A.D. and in course of time, ruled the territory roughly between the Narmadā on the north and Chitradurga District on the south. The Arabian sea and the Karnul District were respectively the western and eastern borders of their kingdom.

Buddhism had already entered the territory governed by the Chalukyas during the times of Aśoka. This can be made out from his rock edicts at Maski, Koppal, Brahmagiri, Siddapur and Jatingarameswar, and the works of *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa*. These works inform us that Moggili-putta Tissa who had converted Aśoka to Buddhism had deputed Mahādēva to Mahishamaṇḍala (modern Mysore) and Rakhkhita to Vanavāsi (modern Banavāsi) for preaching Buddhism to the people. The *Chutus* of Banavāsi and the *Kuras* of Kolhapur were Buddhists. The ancient site

recently noticed at Sannati on the Bhīmā is a Buddhist site. There are a few Buddhist stūpas at Banavāsi.

Buddhism did not gain much importance under the rule of the Kadambas of Banavāsi who followed the Brahmanical faith. Kadamba Krishnavarma I performed the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. Buddhism continued in the kingdom of the Kadambas though it seems to have lost the royal patronage. In the times of the Chalukyas of Badāmi and a little earlier than the commencement of their rule Buddhism was followed by a section of the people as evidenced by the rock-cut caves at Ellora, Aurangabad, Aihole, etc. In Badāmi itself a sculpture of *Bodhisatva Padmapāni* is carved in a natural cavern between Caves II and III. A storeyed-cave—partly built and partly rock-cut—stands near the Meguti temple at Aihole. This cave which was formerly taken to belong to the Jain faith has recently been identified by Dr. S. Settar as belonging to the Buddhist faith. The mutilated image of Buddha that was formerly enshrined in this cave, the ceiling panel of Buddha in *Dharmachakra* pose and with garments on his body and the miniature images of Buddha carved on the doorway of the shrine in the first floor prove beyond doubt that this cave was dedicated to Buddha. This cave is assigned to 5th century A.D. *Mahāyāna* Buddhism must have continued under the rule of the Chalukyas also as Huein-Tsang who travelled in the territory of the Chalukyas of Badāmi records in it the existence of 100 *sanghārāmas* and 5000 Buddhist *Bhikshus*. Buddhism was also followed on the west coast of Karnataka in the period. Though they followed by the brahmanical faith the early Chalukyas did not oppose Buddhism. Buddhism survived in Karnataka upto 13th century A.D. in place like Dambal, Balligāve, Kiri Indi, Koliwad, Kadri and other places.

The Chalukyas of Badāmi belonged to the *Mānavyagotra*, were sons of *Hārita* and had obtained many favours

under the protection of *Saptamātrikas* and *Kārtikēya*. They had obtained the *Varāha Lāncana* by the grace of god Nārāyaṇa. They encouraged Buddhism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Jainism. Viṣṇu was the family deity of Mangalēśa. He was a *Mahābhāgavata*. In order to worship Viṣṇu he scooped out cave III at Badāmi in the 12th regnal year of his elder brother Kīrtivarma I and made a gift of the village *Lanjigēśvara* (modern Nandikēśvara) for the worship of Viṣṇu. He was not a religious bigot. He set up a *dharmastambha* before the temple of *Makuṭēśvara* at Mahākūṭa in his 5th regnal year instead of setting up a pillar of victory on the river Gangā to commemorate his northern victory. On this occasion he donated by obtaining the consent of his step mother Durlabhadēvī villages such as *Kisuvola*, *Kendūrumānya*, etc. The Bhāgavata religion, i.e., Vaiṣṇavism received great impetus under the early Chalukyas of Badāmi. The later kings of the dynasty appear to have accepted Śaivism and constructed temples of Śiva. Sculptures of Varāha, Narasimha, Viṣṇu and scenes from the Bhāgavata are carved in Cave III at Badāmi and these Vaiṣṇava deities decorate the walls of the caves and temples at Mahākūṭa, Aihole, Badāmi and Paṭṭadakal. There was no discrimination in carving Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava deities.

Considerably a large number of temples built or rock-cut are dedicated to Śiva. The rock-cut Cave I at Badāmi, the Rāvaḷphaḍi at Aihole and several temples erected at Badāmi, Aihole, Mahākūṭa and Paṭṭadakal by the early Chalukya kings enshrine the Śiva linga. Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarma of the Bappura family has made over a gift of the village Karellika to a brahmin at the instance of Pulakēśi II in A.D. 610-11. Pulakēśi II gifted the village of Makarappi to a brahmin by name *Jyēshthā* who was a resident of Tagara (*vide* his Hyderabad plates). This donation was made at the time of a solar eclipse. (Solar and lunar eclipses were considered as the best occasions

for the making of gifts. This system continues even today.) A gift was made to *Jayāśraya Tribhuvanāśraya Nāgavarddhana*, son of Pulakēśi II's younger brother Dhārāśraya Jayasimhavarma for the worship of Kāpalēśvara. The village donated by him was Baḷēgrāma in Gōparāshṭra.

Several such gifts are made to brahmins by the later kings of the dynasty.

Chalukya king Vijayāditya constructed the Vijayēśvara (modern Sangamēśvara) temple at Paṭṭadakal. Lokamahādēvī and Trailokamahādēvī built respectively the temples of Lokēśvara and Trailokēśvara, to commemorate the victory of their husband Vikramāditya II over Kāñchi thrice. These two temples as their names suggest enshrined the Śivalinga.

Śakti worship was also prevalent during the times of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. The Gauḍarguḍi at Aihole was dedicated to goddess Lakshmī or Bhagavatī as can be made out from the dedicatory block over the shrine door. The inscription on a beam in the same temple seems to testify this. The several sculptures of Mahishāsūramardinī decorating the walls of the Durgadaguḍi and Rāvalphaḍi at Aihole, in Cave I at Badāmi, and the slab representing the same deity set up in the Tārābasappa temple etc., suggest the popularity of Śakti worship. It may be true that these sculptures were not installed in a shrine and worshipped except in the case of Gauḍarguḍi but even then one can make out the popularity this deity had gained among the people of those days.

Lākula or Pāśupata sect was popular in the days of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. Sculptures of Lakuliśa decorate the south-west corners of the present Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna temples at Paṭṭadakal built by the two queens of Vikramāditya II in about 740 A.D. A seated image of Lakuliśa can be seen even today in a shrine in the Bhūtanātha group at Badāmi. His image is also present on the outer

wall of a temple standing by the side of the perennial pond in the compound of the Mahākūṭēśvara temple at Mahākūṭa and a loose sculpture of him is kept in a small temple opposite the Durgadagudi. The Lakulīśa image displayed at the Karnataka Historical Research Society, Dharwar, seems to have been removed from one of the early Chalukya centres.

Kāḷāmukhas some of whom became preceptors of kings and dignitaries in 10th to 12th centuries A.D. appear to have wielded much influence in the religious life of Karnataka during the period.

Kāpālikas also must have lived and practised the tenets of their faith during the early Chalukya period. This can be made out from the two sculptures of goblins one male and other female—carved at the southern entrance into the compound of the Māhākūṭēśvara temple at Māhākūṭa. The hilly environment similar to that of Śrīśaila afforded a suitable and quiet place for fostering the faith of the Kāpālikas.

Worshippers of Gaṇapati, *i.e.*, Gāṇapatyas seem to have lived in the early Chalukya territory. Images of Gaṇapati are found in cave at Badāmi, in the Tārābasappa temple and on the wall in front of the Huchchimalli temple at Aihole. The latter image which is in the round has two hands and belongs to the period of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. The other two images of Gaṇapati are similarly of the early Chalukya period.

The worshippers of Sūrya, *i.e.*, Sauras existed during the times of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. Two temples, *viz.*, Badigergudi and Sūryanārāyaṇa temple at Aihole are dedicated to god Sūrya.

There was sufficient intercourse among the people of North India and Karnataka. Men from the different parts of the country moved from one corner to the other for

religious and other purposes. One such instance is recorded in a pillar inscription belonging to the rule of Chalukya Kirtivarma II. It states that a brahmin by name Jñānaśivāchārya who had come from the *Mrigathanikāravishaya* on the Ganga and stayed in the Vijayēśvara temple set up a stone pillar bearing the emblem of a *triśūla* in the middle of the Vijayēśvara, Lokēśvara and Trilokēśvara temples (at Paṭṭadakal). This Jñānaśivāchārya has made a gift of land to a brahmin by name *Brahmamūrti Āryabhaṭṭa Trivikrama Chaturvēdi* for the worship of gods and feeding of learned brahmins. His former name was *Śubhadēvarūpa*. The setting up of the *triśūla* pillar shows that he was a Śaiva.

The Hindu Trinity, i.e., Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva were revered equally irrespective of the brahmanical faith to which the worshipper belonged. There was the practice of carving these deities in the ceiling of the temple *maṇḍapa* and the deity which was enshrined in the particular temple was shown in the middle. For example see the sculptures of these deities in the ceiling of the Huchchappayyamath at Aihole, in Cave III at Badāmi and elsewhere. Chalukya king Vijayāditya installed the images of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara in a temple which is now known as the Jambukēśvara temple at Badāmi. A pillar inscription in the temple reveals this. There are instances of invocation to these three deities in the inscriptions belonging to 10th and 11th centuries A.D.

Brahma who lost his hold over the people later on, appears to have been replaced by god Sūrya. In order to synthesize the five main brahmanical cults, viz., Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta (Mahishāsuramardini), Saura and Gāṇapatya, Śrī Shankarachārya advocated the *pañchāyatana* worship. The followers of the particular cult were advised to perform the *pañchāyatana* worship by placing their family deity in the centre and other deities around it in a specified order. This was a step to bring unity among the followers of these five main cults.

A similar attempt is made by executing the composite images of Harihara and Aradhanārīśvara. Sculptures of Harihara can be found in the Durgadaguḍi and Rāvalphaḍi at Aihole, in Cave III at Badāmi and the sculptures of Aradhanārīśvara can be seen in Cave I at Badāmi, in Rāvalphaḍi at Aihole etc.

The scenes from the Hindu epics and *purāṇas* are depicted on the walls of the Pāpanātha temple at Paṭṭadakal, the Durga temple at Aihole, on the pillars of the Virūpaksha and Maṇḍikārjuna temples at Paṭṭadakal, etc. This shows that Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata had immensely influenced the people during the period.

Jainism had taken deep roots during the period in question. This is indicated by the Meguti temple and its famous inscription of Ravikīrti, the Jain cave at Aihole and the Adur inscription of Kirtivarma II etc. There was no religious bigotry among the kings and their subjects. The early Chalukya kings even though they followed by the brahmanical faith have made gifts to the worship of Jina. Sēndraka Durgasakti of the Bhujagēndra family and who was a vassal of Satyāśraya Pulakēśi (II) has donated a piece of land to the Śankhajinālaya, at Puligere. King Vinayāditya has made a gift to a Jain priest who belonged to *Mūlasangha* and *Dēvagana*. King Vijayāditya has made a gift of the village Sembalūru situated to the south of *Pulikaranagara*, i.e., modern Lakshmēśvara to Jayadēvapaṇḍita for worship at the Sankhajinālaya. The date of this inscription is 723 A.D. An inscription of Vikramāditya II registers a gift of land to the worship of a Jina while camping at Raktapura, i.e., modern Paṭṭadakal. Some of the above inscriptions of Lakshmēśvara are in 10th century characters.

The temples dedicated to Buddha, Jina, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Lakshmī (*Bhagavati*) stand side by side at Badāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal. Even in the same temples are carved the images of Viṣṇu and Śiva irrespective of the

deity installed in the shrine. The early Chalukya kings and their subordinate rulers in spite of following different faiths in their private life looked with amity. other gods and their worshippers. They respected the religions of others. All this shows that the spirit of tolerance in religion prevailed in the times of Chalukyas of Badāmi..

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A STUDY OF THE TELUGU INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI

DR. S. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTHY

Though a part of the Āndhra country was conquered by the Badāmi Chalukya monarch Pulakeśin II, it is from the time of his son Vikramāditya I (654/5-681 A.D.) that inscriptions in the Telugu language belonging to this dynasty are found in the Āndhra country. Telugu inscriptions of this royal house number about 16 spread over the districts of Nellore, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Mahbubnagar. Of them seven inscriptions are published and only the published records are taken up for the purpose of this paper.

The Telugu language of this period has been dealt in detail by the scholars like Prof. K. Mahadeva Sastri and Dr. Budaraju Radhakrishna in their respective works *Historical Grammar of Telugu* and *Early Telugu Inscriptions*. In this paper an attempt is made to present a few salient features of the Telugu language of the inscriptions of the Badāmi Chalukyas.

Generally speaking the inscriptions under discussion are brief and of donative character. The Telugu language of this period upto almost the 10th century is commonly known as Early Telugu and it displays an independent character to a great extent from the other Dravidian languages in spite of a few pre-Telugu sounds being preserved. Various phonological changes found in these inscriptions are listed below with examples.

1. The pre-Telugu sound $\bar{a}$ in some instances changed to $\bar{e}$ as can be seen in the expressions $\bar{e}lan < \bar{a}l$, 'to rule' and $\bar{e}ṇḍu < \bar{a}ṇḍu$, 'year'. This change is even today a regular feature in the Telugu language.

2. The sound *ḷ* was an unstable one in Telugu and was replaced by *ḍ* or *ḷ* by about the 11th century. Usually this does not occur in the word-initial position. The forms *ḷachchu*, *ḷachchina*, etc., occurring in the inscriptions are the result of metathesis and etymologically they are to be derived from *aḷiyu* or *aḷisina*. It is interesting to note that both the forms *aḷisina* and *ḷassi* (i.e., nonmetathesised and metathesised) occur in the expressions *liṅgamb = aḷisina pāpambu* (sin of destroying the *liṅga*) and *velayaṅgan = iyyoṭṭu ḷassi* (having violated the oath), found in the Bezawada inscription of the Eastern Chalukya Yuddhamalla (10th century).

In many instances the medial *ḷ* is shifted to the initial position of the word thus resulting in initial clusters which are not regular to Telugu. Eg., *puḷal < plōhu*. In this context the forms, *kulichina* (for *kulochina*) *vāru* (persons who engraved) and *kulopiṇchinavāru* (persons who got it engraved), occurring in the Tippalūru inscription of Vikramāditya II are interesting in that these are the pre-metathesised forms of *kḷochchinavāru* and *kḷoppiṇchinavāru* which are more common expressions found in the inscriptions. This is related to Tamil *kuṛi* (*pp*, — *tt*), to inscribe, engrave; Kannada *kuṛi*, to make a hole, dig; Telugu *krochchu*, *grochchu*.¹

3. Pre-Telugu *k* with front vowels (*i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē*) generally developed into *ch* in Telugu and this process is known as palatalization. But some forms without this palatalization occur in the early Telugu inscriptions. The following examples are from the inscriptions in question.

Palatalized forms

prasādan chēsi ichchina
prithivirājyañchēyam
cheruvu (= Ka. *kere*)

Non-palatalized forms

udakapūrvaṅkēsi
*(chēsi = kēsi = * key*
‘to do’)

4. Use of *anusvāra* in the place of class nasal is a later practice and considered as a borrowing from Indo-Aryan. However, forms with *anusvāra* and homorganic nasal are available in the inscriptions.

Egs. *forms with homorganic nasal* *forms with anusvāra*

<i>dvitīyavarshampravartamānam</i>	<i>saṁvatsarambuḷ, dvitīya-</i>
<i>kānu</i>	<i>varshampravartamānamkānu,</i>
<i>irubhadiēṇḍu</i>	<i>Eṇuvavishayambēlan</i>
<i>Kāñchikoninvāṇḍaina</i>	<i>rāchamānambu, varṭtamā-</i>
<i>embhadi, kāviñchi,</i>	<i>nambu, Varṅganūrvvisha-</i>
<i>Uñcha</i>	<i>yambu, samakshambuna,</i>
<i>udakapurvvankeṣi</i>	<i>pulembuna, rājaśrāvitam,</i>
<i>pañchamahāpāta . . .</i>	<i>sagōtramuna, vakrambu,</i>
<i>peduniku, kañchagārlu</i>	<i>mūṁḍu, prithivīrājyambu,</i>
<i>prasādañchēsi, Vārāṇṭapāru</i>	<i>Vēṁgi, Cherṁgālu, Tiṁgavelli,</i>
	<i>kulōpimchinavāru Muḍiyambu</i>
	<i>Haṁguṇuvula.</i>

The examples which are given almost exhaustively, clearly show that use of *anusvāra* had become common by this period. Further, confusion appeared to have developed in using *anusvāra* and homorganic nasal in the period and the forms like *nāmadhēyūṁru* for *nāmadhēyūṁru*, *dakshiṇa-bhujāyamānumṛayina* for *priyatanayūṁrayina*, *nagarādhishṭhā-nuṁṛayi* for *nagarādhishṭhānumṛayi*, *prathamasaṁvatsarambu* for *prathamasaṁvatsarambu*, *saṁyunktunṛagu* for *saṁyuktunṛagu* and *pandumbu* (use of both class nasal and *anusvāra*) attest to this fact.

5. Pre-Telugu retroflexes *ṇ* and *ḷ* were generally undergoing change to dental *n* and *l* by this period. But in all the Badāmi Chalukya inscriptions in Telugu mostly the pre-Telugu retroflex *ḷ* is retained and *ṇ* is also retained in two instances, a factor commonly met with in Kannaḍa and Tamil languages even today.

Egs. *l*: *bhaṭaruḷākun*; *samvatsarambul*; *ēlan*,
Muttaḷūra, *Kōvubōlu*; *Anantaśōbhulu*;
Pōrmukharāmul; *Nakakōlu*; *kaḷāṇṇēni*.

l *l*: *Penrukōlu*; *Vāṇarājul*; *chappiḷenṇurājula*.
ṇ: *Kāñchikoninvāṇḍaina*; *Dēvaṇa*.

6. *-ṇru* is the masculine, singular suffix and this haḍ changed to *-ṇḍu* by about the 7th-8th centuries, and further changed to *-ḍu* in modern Telugu. However, in the Badāmi Chalukya inscriptions there is only a solitary instance in which *-ṇru* changed to *-ṇḍu*.

Egs. *dakshinṇabhujāyamānunṇu*; *priyatanayunṇu*; *nāma-dhēyunṇu*; *adhishṭhānurnṇu*; *lachchinavānṇu*; *vachchuvānṇu*; *kaḷāṇṇēni*; *saṁyuktunṇagu*.

-ṇru-ṇḍu: *Kāñchikoninvāṇḍaina*.

It may be observed that in the examples given above and also in the expression *Īśvarunāku*, the word-final *-a* is changed to *ū* in the case of loan words. Though this change had been regular in literary Telugu of the later centuries it was optional in early Telugu and this is supported by the examples *Ālakumara* etc. The words like *rāju* in *Vāṇarājul*, *sakshi* did not have any gender-suffix.

7. *-ṁbu* is generally found as a gender-suffix for the non-masculine singular as can be seen in *Eruvq-vishayāmbu*, *rāchamānāmbu* etc. In later centuries this is assimilated to *-mmu* and finally it became *-mu* in the modern Telugu.

8. *ru* or *lu* (*lu*) is added to form the masculine and non-masculine plural. In this case also in the loan words final *-a* is changed to *-u* optionally.

Egs. *-ru*: *Kumāraśarmamāriki* [here *r(u)* is an honorific term]; *inuvuru* (two persons); *Kaṇamayāru* (honorific *vachchuvāru*; *ēḷuvāru*) etc.

lu, *-lu*; *bhaṭaruḷu*, *bhaṭaraḷa*, *bhaṭāraḷa* etc.; *saṁvat-arambul*; *maṇuturḷu* (in the case of *maṇutudḷu*, occurring in

the *Konḍupalli* inscription of Vijayāditya, the trill in the cluster *ṛlu* changed to *ḍ*. This type of change can be seen in the case of flap also. Eg. *ūḍlu* > *ūrlu* found in some other inscriptions not included here for study); *Vāṇarājula*; *Chappilenṇurājula*; *Kaṇchagārlu* (= *kāṁsyakāra-lu*); *Kōvubōḷu*, *Anantaśobhūlu*, *Pōrmukharāmuḷ* (honorific) etc.

9. Among the usual phonetic changes the following are noteworthy:

(1) Phonemic variation of *v/b*:

Vāṇaājula/*Bāṇārājula*.

(2) *ṛi* > *ri*: *prithivi* > *prithivi*.

(3) In numerical compounds where *-padi* ('ten') occurs as a second unit, the initial *p* is voiced to *b* and further it is aspirated:

iru-padi > *irubādi*, *irubhadi*.

(4) Phonemic variation of *v/g*:

innalvuru/*innalguru*

(5) Phonemic variation of *r/n*:

iruvuru/*inuvuru*

(6) In loan words *j* > *cha*:

rājamānambu > *rāchamānambu*.

10. Usually *sandhi* is observed between the final *u* of the first constituent and the initial vowel of the second constituent, by dropping the former. This has become a regular practice in literary Telugu in the later centuries. However, we find that in the inscriptions of the early period this was optional.

Egs. *Sandhi* observed: *darkshīṇabhujāyamānumṛayna* < *ḍakshīṇabhujāyamānumṛu-ayna*; *priyatanayumṛayna* < *priyatanayumṛu-ayna*, etc.

Sandhi not observed; *irubhadiēṇḍu-agunēṭi*; *marutuḍlu-ichcheṭi*; *pandumby-āḍlapaṭṭu* etc.

11. In the inscriptions in question it may be noticed that either glide -y- is introduced to prevent *sandhi* between the final -a of the first unit and the initial vowel of the following unit or *sandhi* is observed by dropping the final -a.

Egs. *Dēvaṇa-y-iche*; *Konrūru* = *Konṛa-ūru*.

sandhi not observed: *Vēṅgipāṛa-Īśvarunāku*.

12. It is noteworthy that in the inscriptions under study of the *sandhi* is not observed between the final -i of the first constituent and the initial vowel of the second unit, though normally the use of the glide -y- is expected in such environment:

Egs. *nagarādhishṭhāmūṇṛayi-Eruvavishayaṁbēlan*; *irubhadi-ēṇḍu*: *rājaśrāvitamkāviñchi-ichchiri*; *udakapurvaṅkēsi-prasādañchēsi-ichchiri*.

13. The word final -n is known as *druta* in Telugu. Voicing of voiceless stops following the *druta* is more frequent than not in literary Telugu of the later centuries while it appears to be optional in the early centuries. In the following instances the voiceless stops in this environment are voiced:

Marṛalūra (n)-bannāsa < *Marṛalūra (n)-pannāsa*; *Jāyapāru (n)-jūchinavāru* < *Jāyapāru (n)-chūchinavāru*; *Chōṛlakālu (n)-gulichinavāru* < *Chōṛlakalu (n)-kulichinavāru*.

Voiceless stop is not voiced: *Ēlan-Chappiṇṇu-rājula* for *ēlan-Jappiṇṇurājula*; *samakshambuna (n)-Pūllamukki* for *samakshambunam-Būllamukki*.

(14) Usually *sandhi* is observed when *druta* is followed by a vowel and in some cases *druta* is dropped in this process.

Eg. *Eruva vishayaṁbu (n)-ēlan* = *Eruva-Vishayaṁbēlan*.

In some instances glidal -y- is introduced in the same environment.

Eg., *Turumaravishayambu (n)-ēļuvāri*

In some cases *sandhi* is not observed at all.

Eg. *Vaṅganūrvishayambu (n)-ēļan* ; *Bharadvājagōtram-buna (n)-Uñcha*.....

15. Change of *k*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p* to *g*, *s*, *ḍ*, *d* and *v* respectively, referred to by the traditional Telugu grammarians as *gasaḍadavādēśa*, is attested in the early Telugu. But this was optional.

Egs. *Sandhi* observed: *Varttamānambu-gānu*; *sākshi-gānu*; *Aṇṇārāppuluvāmbuļu-Dārumunṛi*, *vachchuvānṛu-gaḷan-rēni*; *nāluṇu-vuṭṭu*.

Sandhi not observed: *pravarttamānambu-kānu*; *kañcha-gāṛlu-kotṭiri*.

16. Interspersion of Sanskrit and Telugu sentences can be seen apparently in the expressions:

Vikramādityaparamēśvarabhaṭāruļākun śrīmad = unnata pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarambul āchandrātārapurassaram dvitīyavarsham = pravartamānamkānu and *Ujēṇi-piśāchanāmadhēyūṁṛu Turuṭaṭakanāmābhidhāna nagarādhish-ṭhānuṁṛay i Eruva-vishayaṁ ba = ēḷan tasya mātā (mātrā)-dattam Gōvṛishāna-bhaṭṭārahō śatapañchāśatksheṭram*, occurring in the Turimella inscription of Vikramāditya I.

17. Of late, study of the personal and place-names figuring in the inscriptions, especially of early period, is attracting the attention of the scholars, linguists in particular. Many interesting features in different aspects can be revealed by a systematic study of these personal and place-names. A brief account of these names found in Telugu inscriptions of the Badāmi Chalukyas is cited below.

In total about 26 personal names (names of the Imperial kings are not taken into consideration) are listed from these inscriptions. Of them, half of the names can be clearly traced to Sanskrit and they are as follows:

1. *Ujēṇīpiśācha-namadhēyunṛu*
2. *Gōvṛishāṇa-bhaṭṭāra*
3. *Viṇṇapa < Viṣṇu*
4. *Kaṇamatāru ? < Kṛishṇa*
5. *Kumāra-śarmma*
6. *Kōvu-bōḷu*, probably < *Gōvinda*
7. *Anantaśōbhulū*
8. *Īśvaru*
9. *Amḷatalālū*, probably < *Amṛita*
10. *Dēvaṇa*
11. *Charuva-śarmma < Śarva*
12. *Vinna-śarmma < Viṣṇu*
13. *Jāya-pāru < Jaya* and
14. *Nala Mādi-rāju = 'Mādhava'.*

The following are of Dravidian origin:

- (1) *Goggi-bhaṭṭāra*, (2) *Ālakumāra*, (3) *Korunārlu*,
 (4) *Cherīgālū*, (5) *Korū-kālū*, (6) *Parkkulugu*, (7) *Chōṛla-kālū*,
 (8) *Palugubāru*, (9) *Vārāṇṭa-pāru*, (10) *Vēgulūrū*, (11) *Penṛu-*
kōlu, (12) *Naka-kōlu* and (13) *Kachcharlu*.

Among the first group of the names, *Gōvṛishāṇa-bhaṭṭāra* is unintelligible. The name *Ujēṇī-piśācha* sounds more like a title than a name. If it is proved to be a personal name probably it may then be of ethnological interest. If it is only a title it can be explained as a 'devil to Ujjayinī'² (*Ujjayinī < Ujjainī = Ujainī < Ujēṇī*). Of the other names, the suffix *-āru* in *Kaṇamayāru*, which is used as an honorific term, may be derived from Dravidian *avar < vāru < āru*. Other suffixes *-bhaṭṭāra*, *-kumāra*, *-śarmma*, *-rāju* are too well known to be discussed. Another suffix appearing in the same group of personal names, viz., *-bōḷu* is considered as a derivative from Sanskrit *bhōgin*, the final *lu* being Telugu plural suffix. To interpret the names of the second

group is very difficult. The suffix *-pāru*, denotes a 'brahmin', while the term – *kāhu* is explained as an equivalent of Sanskrit *pādāh* (as an *tātapādāh*) and it is an honorific term. The suffix – *apa* in the names *Viṇṇ-apa* and *Vinn-apa* is to be derived from – *appa* and betrays Kannaḍa influence. Similarly – *aṇa* in *Dēv-aṇa* can be traced to – *aṇṇa*. The prefixes *Viṇṇa* – and *Vinna* – are the assimilated forms of *Vishṇu* and in the latter the retroflex *ṇ* is replaced by dental *ṇ*.

The following is a list of place-names found in Telugu inscriptions of the Badāmi Chalukyas:

Turu-taṭāka (identical with modern *Turimella*); *Ēṇuva-vishayaṃbu*; *Kāñchi* (modern Conjeevaram, Tamil Nadu); *Kaḍutūru*; *Muttaḷūru*, *Pūllamukki*; *Peṇukapaṇu*; *Konṇ-ūru*; *Turumara-vishayaṃbu*; *Tārumunṇi*; *Vēṅgi*; *Maṇṇalūru*; *Muḍiyāmbu*; *Vaṇṇanūrv-vishayaṃbu*; *Vāraṇāsi* or *Bhāṇarā*.

Of these place-names *Turu-taṭāka* is interesting in that the suffix *-taṭāka* appears to a Sanskritized form of – *maḍugu* and if this is approved, the phonological changes of the present name *Turu-mella* can be traced as follows: *Turu-maḍugula* < *Turumadla* < *Turu-mella*. Loss of medial sounds in a place-name is more often met with than not (eg. *Mahā-dēvi-cheruvula Mācherla*). Thus *Turu-taṭāka* can be quoted as one of the early instances in which the second unit of the place-name is Sanskritized. *Konṇ-ūru* provides an early instance of the form *Konṇa* which changed into *koṇḍa* in Telugu. *Pūllamukki* is one of the rare forms having a long vowel followed by a gemination. In such instances usually either the long vowel is shortened or the gemination is simplified. The place-name *Vāraṇāsi* appears with the initial *v* changed to *b* and further aspirated to *bh*. Writing of *Vāraṇāsi* as *Bhāṇarāsi* also is noteworthy.

A study of Telugu inscriptions of the Badāmi Chalukyas helps us in arriving at the following important conclusions:

1. In many aspects these inscriptions are similar to those early Telugu inscriptions found elsewhere and belonging

to the other dynasties such as Early Eastern Chalukyas on the east coast and Telugu Chōlas and the Bāṇas in the Rāyalasīma region.

2. Shift of medial *l* to the initial position by metathesis had already taken place.

3. Pre-Telugu retroflexes *ṇ* and *ḷ* were still present, though sporadically.

4. Non-palatalized forms of *k* figuring in these inscriptions may be considered as dialectal feature.

5. Forms with homorganic nasal and *anusvāra* are found in these inscriptions simultaneously and forms with *anusvāra* seem to outnumber their counterparts.

6. The masculine singular suffix *ṇṛu* was in the process of changing into *ṇḍu* and the latter figures in only one form.

7. Usually the *sandhi* was observed optionally.

8. The place-name *Tuṛu-taṭāka* provides us with one of the early instances of a place-name being partly Sanskritized.

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KANNADA LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE DURING THE CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI (C. 540-750 A.D.)

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It is quite irrelevant for me to discuss here the antiquity of the Kannada language. We know that the earliest Kannada document with a full text is the Halmiḍi inscription of C. 450 A.D. Scholars like N. Lakshminarayana Rao have even suggested that it might be a later record. If this opinion is accepted, the earliest Kannada text will be that of the Badāmi cave inscription of 578 A.D., which records gifts made over to the—‘stone-house’ (*Kalmane*), i.e., cave-temple constructed by Mangalēśa.¹

The Kannada Language spoken during the Chalukyas of Badāmi is named as ‘Primitive old Kannada’, which represents the earliest phase (C. 450-800 A.D.) in the development of the language. In terms of phonology and morphology, it clearly differs from the later phase which scholars have named as old Kannada. Some of the salient features of the Primitive old Kannada are listed below.

1. The proto-Dravidian *V- is retained in the word initial position, whereas the old Kannada changes it into *b-*. Ex: *Vittu* (> *bittu*); *Veṭṭa* (> *beṭṭa*). (Ex: *Vittidalli Veḷeyāde Keḍuge*; *Kalyappinā Veṭṭadu*!).

2. The Dravidian third person singular masculine marker *-n* is consistently used both in verbs and nouns, whereas it gets mixed up with *-m* in old Kannada. Ex: *alivōn*; *munivaran*; *sandān*.

3. The racial vowels of the Dravidian bases *e* and *o* are, in many places, retained, whereas they turn out to be *i* and *u* in old Kannada. Ex: *Kori* (> *kuri*), *Keḍu* (> *Kiḍu*), *Kesu* (> *Kisu*), *toru* (> *turu*), *eri* (> *iṛi*), *esu* (> *isu*), *Porigere*

(> *Puligere*). These changes occur under restricted phonological conditions, and need not be discussed here.

4. The accusative, genitive and locative suffixes are *-ān*, *-ā* and *-uḷ*, while their old Kannada equivalents would be *-an* (*-am*), *-a*, and *-oḷ*. Ex: *ittodān*; *svargāgramān*; *maṅgaḷiśanā kalmane*; *Kaḷvappinā veṭṭaduḷ*; *dēvanā pīṭhmān*; *vāraṇāsiyuḷ*; *ēḷaneyā narakadā pulu*.

5. The lengthening of the vowel found in the case suffixes is also found in the verbal suffixes and in nominalized forms. Ex: *sandān* (> *sandan*); *ēṛidār* (> *eṛidar*); *Paḍedān* (> *Paḍedam*); *Koḷvōn* (> *Koḷvon*); *Uṇvōr* (> *uṇvor*, *uṇbar*.)

R. Narasimhachar has observed that some of these forms "not found in Haḷagannaḍa, are identical or nearly so with the forms used in Tamil".² Words like *poruḷ* (wealth), *eḷtu* (letters), which later disappeared from Kannada are retained here. T. N. Sreekantaiya thinks that "What is usually called Primitive old Kannada was really a transitional stage from 'ancient' Kannada (of the early centuries of the Christian era) to old Kannada....."³

This is substantiated by many of the inscriptions belonging to the middle of the seventh or the eighth century, where we begin to see forms like *siṅghaman*, *sandon*, *biṭṭar*, which are evidence of a transition from Primitive old Kannada to old Kannada.

A bare linguistic analysis or discussion of this nature may or may not interest a student interested in the history of a country or dynasty. On the other hand, he will be interested to know how the language was employed at the social/political and the aesthetic level during a particular period. The foregoing discussion is mainly concerned with the literary output during the times of the Chalukyas. An assessment of the literary activities help us a good deal in having a better understanding of the over-all cultural activities of the period, for example, temple-building.

Unfortunately no literary work of the period has come down to us. As a result, much of the discussion on the literary activities is necessarily by way of inference, and not based on hard facts.

The earliest available work in Kannada is *Kavirājamārga* (C. 850 A.D.) which is a work on poetics mainly based on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*. The author mentions a few names of Kannada poets who wrote both in prose and verse. He says that Śrīvijaya, Kavīśvara Paṇḍita, Candra, Lōkapāla and others were poets who wrote verses and Vimala, Udaya, Nāgārjuna, Jayabandhu, Durvinīta and others were poets who wrote their works in prose. Since the author does not give the names of their works, it is not possible to know the nature of their works' compositions. The thing that immediately concerns us here — did some of them compose their works during the period of Chalukyas of Badāmi?

Scholars including M. Govinda Pai and M. H. Krishna have equated the antiquity of language with the antiquity of literature, which, on the very face of it, is illogical. A language could exist without formal literature: the contrary is not true. This is mentioned here with a purpose; what it is, will be clear shortly.

The language of the Halmiḍi inscription does not look like cultivated: rather it is raw and looks as if the language represents a stage where Kannada was beginning to be reduced to writing. Even the basic syntax of the language is faulty. It is bad Kannada composed by a good Sanskrit scholar. The language of the Badāmi inscription of Mangalēśa itself is complicated: how to cut the text into sentences is still a problem: where to apply 'lañjigēsaram' to 'ittodu' or to the next sentence. The word 'ardhavisadi' is in instrumental, whereas it should have been in the accusative, like 'ardhavisavan' which would have been an attribute to 'ittodān'. It is true that the language of the inscription do not subject itself to rules of grammar. But, the fact is

that the language of many of the early inscriptions is very informal devoid of any literary quality and suggests absence of formal sophisticated literature. The early inscriptions are short, prosaic, lack easy flow and are in prose form without an exception.

The inscription found in *Tamatukallu* of the Chitradurga District and dated in C. 500 A.D.⁴ contains a single verse in *Kanakabjini* metre. The style, no doubt, is literary and the language is 'Primitive old Kannada'. Unless its date is fixed on palaeographic grounds, it is better not to take it into consideration for the present. (B. L. Rice assigns the date with hesitation and puts a question mark). Then, the earliest Kannada inscriptions of literary value will be the Thattukoti inscription of C. 700 A.D.⁵ and the single-verse inscriptions of Shravanabelgola belonging to the same period.

The Thattukoti inscription is composed in *Tripadi* metre based on 'amśa' rhythm and praises the heroic deeds of *Kappe Arabhaṭṭa* in highly poetic language. The *tripadi* metre suggests that there was a rich folk literature, and this is again corroborated by a statement in one of the Ganga records that King Śivamāra's (C. 800 A.D.) work on elephant lore was so popular as to become a *onakevāḍu*, a threshing song, and it is shown elsewhere that these folk songs were in *tripadi* metre.⁶

The single-verse inscriptions of Shravanabelgola deserve our serious consideration.⁷ Most of them mention self-immolation by various Jaina ascetics by way of *sallēkhana* vow and contain some of the most touching descriptions of the ritual. All of them are composed in *akṣara* metres like *utpalamāle*, *mallikāmāle*, *mahāśragdharā*, *śārdūlavikriḍitā* and *mattēbhavikriḍitā*. The *akṣara* metres in general, are all borrowed from Sanskrit. The Sanskrit rules of prosody prescribe that *yati* or pause should occur only in fixed places of each line of the verse, and this differs from

one variety of the verse to another. For example, in *mahā-sragdharā*, pause should occur after the fifteenth and the twenty-second syllable of each of the four lines. This is, compulsory as far as Sanskrit compositions are concerned and any deviation from the observance of the rule was looked down upon as a 'dōṣa' called *yati-bhaṅgo-dōṣa*. The Kannada verses of the Shravanabelgola inscriptions, except one or two, scrupulously observe the rules of Sanskrit prosody mentioned above.

The author of *Kavirājamārga*, while speaking of pause in Kannada versification says that the Kannada poets have given up observing the *yati* rules, and have, in its place, adopted the rules of alliteration or *prāsa*. This clearly shows that the poets who composed poems in the period 700–850 A.D., experimented with the *akṣara* verses, and in the end, gave up the rules pertaining to the pause. This is as well as saying that the Shravanabelgola verses are not only the earliest attempts at versification, they are in fact the earliest attempts to write poetry also, in Kannada. The earlier inscriptional poets like Ravikīrti chose to compose his text of the Aihole inscription (634 A.D.) not in Kannada, but in Sanskrit. The earlier anonymous poet of Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription of Mangalēśa, who was probably Ravikīrti himself, chose to compose in Sanskrit, not in Kannada. Vijjikā, the daughter-in-law of Pulakēśi, wrote her compositions in Sanskrit. This probably strengthens our view that literary activities began during the period of the Chalukyas of Badāmi by about 650–700 A.D., and not earlier. The poets mentioned by the author of *Kavirājamārga* belong to the period 650–850 A.D., and one or two of them, at least, to the period of the Badāmi Chalukyas.

The name of Durvinīta mentioned in *Kavirājamārga* is often identified with the name of the Ganga king of the same name who ruled between 555–605 A.D. His Nallal and Gummareḍḍipura copper-plates praise him as a very

gifted man who translated Guṇāḍhya's *Vaḍḍakathā* into Sanskrit and who wrote a commentary on the fifteenth canto of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīyam*. This commentary, according to some, was in Kannada. This may not be correct. Bhāravi was not only his contemporary, but his friend. It was this friendship that induced Durvinīta to write the commentary. If we take into consideration that Bhāravi was a non-Kannāḍiga and that writing commentaries to Sanskrit works in Kannada was never practised, it is safe to infer that the said commentary was in Sanskrit and not in the regional language. There is nothing to compel us to identify Durvinīta, the Kannada prose-writer and the Ganga King Durvinīta. It is preferable to keep the problem open than take it for granted as one finally settled.

The names of Śrīvardhadēva, the so-called author of the *Chūḍāmaṇi* commentary and Shyāmakundāchārya, the author of *Prābhrita* are mentioned by R. Narasimhachar as belonging to C. 650 A.D. The date of Śrīvardhadēva was fixed on the basis of a statement in one of the inscriptions of Shravanabelgola that he was praised by Daṇḍin as a great scholar. It was later proved that the author praised by Daṇḍin was a Tamil writer of the same name, and that this author of *Chūḍāmaṇi* commentary in Tamil and Thumbalūrāchārya, the author of *Chūḍāmaṇi* commentary in Kannada are different authors. At most it can be said that Thumbalūrāchārya and Shyāmakundāchārya lived before Chāvūṇḍarāya of the tenth century, and we are completely in darkness as regards their age.

Then, do we not have the name of a single Kannada author whom we can positively assign to the period of the Chalukyas of Badāmi? Unfortunately, the answer is no. As we have already seen, literary activities were inaugurated during the Chalukya period. There is another strong evidence which strengthens this view. Among all the dialects of earlier Kannada, the one that was considered as stan-

dard and fit for literary discourses was that of the region of Paṭṭadakal, Koppal, Lakshmēśvara and Onkunda (Wakkunda of Belgaum District). This was the view held by the author of *Kavirājamārga*, Pampa and Ranna, among whom the first two belonged to the period when Rāshtrakūṭas were in the ascendancy.

We should remember that the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas was Mānyakhēṭa, Malkhēḍ in the Gulbarga District, and this capital falls out of the area of the standard dialect of the Kannada language spoken during the ninth and the tenth centuries. It is always the dialect spoken in and around the capital city of a country that gets accepted as the standard dialect of cultural importance. It appears as though the Paṭṭadakal-Koppal language assumed the position of a prestige dialect, because it was the area where the capital and cultural centres like Badāmi, Aihole, Paṭṭadakal, Koppal and Lakshmēśvar were situated. Once that dialect spoken by the elite of the region was employed during the Badāmi Chalukyas period for literary cultivation, the tradition continued even during the Rāshtrakūṭas and the later Chalukyas of Kaḷyāṇa.

In Jayakīrti's *Chandōnuśāsana* (C. 1050 A.D.) mention is made of many authors and works not mentioned in *Kavirājamārga*. Among them, the name of *Karnāṭēśvara Kathā* by an anonymous writer distinguishes itself as a work of some historical value. It looks like a historical poem narrating the exploits of a *Karnāṭēśvara*, a King of Karnāṭaka. The term *Karnāṭa* was specially applied to the Chalukyas of Badāmi. Their army was called '*Karnāṭabala*'. Vijjikā, the daughter-in-law of Pulakēśi II called herself '*Karnāṭa-rāja-priyā*' and Rājaśekhara, the author of *Kāvyamīmāṃsa* calls her '*Karnāṭi*'. Then, *Karnāṭēśvara Kathā* could have been a narrative poem centered round a king belonging to the family of the Chalukyas of Badāmi. In *Kāvyāvalōkana*, a grammar written in the twelfth century,

Nāgavarma quotes a verse which praises the fame of Polakēśi-Vallabha spreading over the earth:

*Vikramavahni munnaḷurdukoṇḍudu tanmuniyam gaḍaśvamē-
dhakratuvādudu gaḍam baḷiyam śikhidhūmayōṇiye-
mbī kramamentu pēḷimene vikramayaḷṇavidhānamam dharā-
chakrame mechchi baṇṇise jasambaḍedam Polakēśi-
vallabham ||*

The Polakēśi described herein seems to be none other than Pulakēśi II, and it is no wonder if the verse quoted above was from *Karnāṭēśvara-Kathā*. It is unfortunate that this work has not come down to us. But there are obvious difficulties in this identification.

To sum up, it was the Kadambas who reduced Kannada language to writing and employed it for administrative purposes. If it is proved that the Halmiḍi inscription is later than the Badāmi Cave Inscription, the above credit goes to the Chalukyas. It was during the Badāmi Chalukyas that the language was officially recognised and serious attempts to cultivate it took place. Kannada literature owes its beginning to this royal dynasty, and no work of that period has come down to us.

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TEMPLES OF AIHOLE AND PAṬṬADAKAL

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

I. *Introduction*

The period between the beginning of the 6th century A.D., and the end of the 7th century A.D., saw the advent of the structural temple style of the Western Chalukyas of *Vātāpyadhiṣṭhāna* (Badāmi). The succeeding two centuries saw the continuation of the mode, with equal if not greater vigour, by the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed who, by the middle of the 8th century A.D., had become the guardians of much that was Chalukyan empire and more, in the upper and lower Deccan. While the four cradles of this purposive development of temple style in the Deccan, were Mahākūṭeśvar, Badāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal, the last two stand out, by the multiplicity of its temple variants and the close association of both royalty and the trade elite (of the 500 *Svāmis* of the *Mahāgrahāra* of *Āryapura*) in these structural temple constructions. In fact, it would be proper to call this activity in these two places more as a movement than a programme, and more a combination of art and religion at its best, than a mere command performance. For the same reason, the creations in these two places will long continue to be cynosure of attraction of the art connoisseurs, and the subject-matter of their interpretative tracts. The structures do not lend themselves much to an orderly classification into definitive developments, but rather into evolving land-marks in the art imagination of the craft guilds, without any pre-conceived standards, and are, in a sense formative and extrovert in their expression and *elan*.

The study of the temples should properly be organised in two distinctive series, those of Aihole meriting prior attention and that of Paṭṭadakal highlighting the apogee of the

art *metier* of the Chalukyas. A brief study is thus made, in the following pages of their formal modulations wherein compactness and empirical stylistic emphasis would be chief objectives. This might help in seeking out the architectural *entity* of the concerned temple forms, and divest it, to the needed degree, of either historical contexts or their sculptural vesture. Sculptural art, to the extent its religious and cult purpose becomes important will be outlined.

The study would also involve the application of *Silpa* nomenclature that informed the architectural endeavours for, like grammar for literature, it is the disciplining device for delineating structural forms, in addition to being conducive to brevity and avoidance of lengthy verbal paraphrasing. It is one of the credits of the Chalukya art zone of Karnataka that it was the Prayāga of coalescing formal trends in temple styles which were tending to crystallize in Madhyadēśa and Maru-Gurjara on the one hand, and in the Drāvidadēśa of lower southern India including chiefly, Tamil Nadu, on the other, apart from the appetizing lacing with the coastal indigenous secular residential patterns of construction. Thus, well and truly, the soul of Indian architecture finds the most eclectic harmonisation feasible in a religious context, in the Chalukya homeland, into sturdy yet *suave* manifestations of temple models, fashioned in the fastidious yet feminine fabric of the sand-stone rock—much like the Pallavas of Kāñchi—which virtually pluck at our heart-strings where the body and vesture had ideally blended, as in a Durga temple or a Lōkēśvara shrine.

II. (i) *The Indigenous Maṇḍapa Type*

One of the earliest types of structures erected for religious purposes at Aihole appears to be what can be called the *maṇḍapa* or the multi-pillared hall or pavilion type. This type continues in its own inception, growth and degeneration at this place, side by side with the appearance of the other conventional types, variously of the *rēkhāprāsāda*

and the southern *vimāna* type. This itself indicates the basic stamina of this *maṇḍapa* form which one might take as largely due to its nearness to residential architecture of the community at that time. The *maṇḍapa* type is exemplified at Aihole, in its major land-marks, in Ladkhan, Kontigudi, certain small shrines in the Jyotirlinga group, and in the Allibasappa temple variously, although this does not exhaust the available structural examples of this type. Basically speaking, the *maṇḍapa* concept stems directly out of the preceding cave art tradition, as at Badāmi and elsewhere of the western Chalukya homeland, to which it is also allied in the features of the auxiliary parts of the shrine, as for example, the pillars of these early *maṇḍapa* types which are of prevailingly square sections, heavy and with comparatively controlled attempt at ornamentation leaving a chased effect. Further, it is the boldness and the empirical character of the *maṇḍapa* structure, together with its somewhat dark spacious interior that arrests ones attention. Incidentally, on the analogy of the cave temples, some of these *maṇḍapa* types also had the *sancta* laid right at the rear wall, as in the case of Ladkhan and Kontigudi, by providing a separate chamber with artificial partition walls for it here, notwithstanding its forming an integral part of the pavilion lay-out in its peripheral bays. On the other hand, the basic structure of such a type comprises a central square with radiating slope side aisles all around, which on plan result in a high *ankaṇa*, right in the centre. This central *ankaṇa* has a clerestory in its entablature for ventilation and light, a feature which gets conventionalised and ossified in most of the Chalukya temples of any type in its central axial nave. The exterior wall of this pavilion type is provided with large grilled screen, perforated in various designs, these grills being restricted primarily to the side walls. This type, therefore, is not only an unconsolidated stage, but also a collateral model which owes no obligation to the prevailing main stream of temple architectural development, and therefore

is not a lineal predecessor to the conventional temple forms to be dealt with further below.

II. (ii) *The Cultural Confluence*

Before we do that, it would be necessary to cast a look around the geographical situation of the home region of the Western Chalukyas on the Malaprabhā river. The area, was exposed to, in the erstwhile Śātavāhana times, much that was the cultural heritage of the Madhyadēśa up to whose borders along the edge of the Vindhyan plateau the Śātavāhana empire extended. On the other hand, the activities that were simultaneously afoot in the lower South in the Krishnā valley and the Tamil country further below, had also a ready recipient in the Chalukya homeland. Thus, the concept of temple forms percolating into this upper Krishnā valley wherein Badāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal were located, while being in a position to draw from the 'northern' and the 'southern' trends in temple building by having already graduated through the cave art stage, had the potential also of transforming the incoming trends into an essential local *milieu*. Accordingly, it would be appropriate to state that the early Chalukya structural architecture, such as it is, represents clear visual departure from both classic *rēkhā-nāgara-prāsāda* tradition of Upper India and the southern *vimāna* tradition, but, at the same time, provided a free and full play of both the traditions on the local genius and, thus, became what could be called the meeting ground of these two major schools. Whatever was already found in the Chalukya homeland was also shaped into viable local types with common ground in so far as the secondary characteristics are concerned.

III. (i) *The Rēkhā-prāsāda*

The *rēkhā-prāsāda* type is exemplified at Aihole in the temples of Huchchimmalligudi, Huchchappayyagudi, Chakkara-gudi, Tarappagudi and Galaganatha, to mention the more

outstanding. These temples, most of which are more than medium sized in dimensions, were built of large blocks of stone and exterior ornamentation is conspicuously restricted to the niches and the *udgamas* on the walls. The superstructure generally shows a prevailingly steep rise, although the *śikhara* tower could be of both the *triguṇa* and *chaturguṇa sūtra* category. The *lāṭas* of the *śikhara* are not unduly projective or emphatic and the schematic *bhūmis* of the *śikhara* are themselves rendered in a somewhat stereotyped fashion, indicating an automatic assimilation of the corresponding features of the northern style. The *śikhara* is primarily *ekāṇḍa* and over its *pidhana-phalaka*, was provided with an *āmalaka-śilā* which could be sometimes spheroidal. On the eastern or the main orientation of the temple, the *śikhara* presented a *śukanāsa* projection which, however, did not rise too high on the *mūlamanjari*, but was on the contrary fairly well projecting forward and formed a conspicuous feature with the front face (*mukha-paṭṭi*) embellished, within *danḍikas*, the *Śaktidhvaja* and *simhalalāṭa*, by a *tāṇḍava* cameo of Śiva invariably. This *śukanāsa* was of the *sama*, *tripada* or *ardha* category, depending upon whether it was in width, equal to or one-third or half of the width of the *ardha maṇḍapa*. The shrine in its interior lay-out provided for a central nave which was a lineal axial bay from the sanctum to the *mukha maṇḍapa*, while the side aisle and ambulatory space around the sanctum were organised in a slopy roof multiple bay pattern. The type, however, also included the *nirandhāra* or open type where the *pradakṣiṇa* was in the outer open court. In the case, however, of the *sāndhāra* groups the shrine had large grilled windows in the cardinal points with a projecting narrow pavilion attached to it on the outside, thus forming a false door or *ghanadvāra*. This was only a modification of the open projection and pavilion in the central offset of the classic 'northern' temple where these projections would stand for the notional or real *sarvatōbhadra* type of shrine.

The walls of the front chambers are invariably of the closed type. The *mukha maṇḍapa* to the temple forms a separate projecting porch on two free standing pillars in two pilasters, and is occasionally provided with seat-back or *kakshāsana* parapets whose exterior faces are decorated with *pūrṇaḥaṭa* ornamentation.

III. (ii) *Embellishments and motifs*

It is also customary, in a few cases, to provide for the *Śaṅkha* and *Padma* *nidhi* figures at the entrance. The *garbhagriha* of a Chalukya temple is provided with certain conventional methods of ornamentation. In the first instance it is having overdoors or *śākha* of various kinds, like *nāga-śākha*, *pushpa-śākha* etc., of which the *nāga-śākha* is generally the innermost, showing a hooded *nāga* head at the jamb and displaying the tails of the two *nāgas* joining on the lintel section as held in the hands of a *Garuḍa* whose figure forms the *lalāṭa-bimba*. This sometimes misleads one into presuming the shrine within as dedicated to *Vishṇu*, especially where no images of *Vishṇu* or *Linga* of *Śiva* are extant in such a temple. The presence of *Garuḍa* is only a complementary sculptural conception against the *nāga-śākha*, the *Garuḍa* being the natural adversary of the *nāga*. The image of *Garuḍa*, however, had been so consistently adopted, in a majority of the early Chalukyan structural temples, both *Śaiva* and *Vaiṣṇava*, both northern and southern, and underscores the imaginative basis of Chalukyan art-motifs.

The door jambs at the bottom parts generally represent, in miniature forms, the *dvārapālas* as well as *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*, respectively with their attendants. The lintel above the *śākhās* has an *uttarāṅga* which comprises miniature temple models, both of the northern and the southern varieties, which in later stages somewhat tend to get mixed. In the earlier ones, however, the respective styles are retained for temples of the allied kind. Within the sanctum,

four corner pilasters of the cantoning type are shown which, in certain cases, are likely to be transferred into full-fledged, free-standing pillars set a little away from the corner like a pavilion around the image. Apparently, this will imply the formative pavilion shrine. Externally, as already stated, the wall faces are embellished only by *udgamas* set high on the wall without the corresponding pilasters below. These *udgamas* have their own parallels in other northern temples, both in Madhyadēśa and Gujarat-Rajasthan, and present motifs abstracted from the *nāsikas* which in original wood architectural proto-type have represented *dormer* windows. Where it is a *sāndhāra* temple, it has a *triratha* or *pañcharatha* plinth and wall section separately around the sanctum within the ambulatory has *koshṭhas* also, with figures installed in them.

The plinths of the Chalukyan *rēkhā-nāgara* temples have a style *in common* with the southern *vimāna* forms also, but with certain distinctions in special cases. One of these would be the display of a row of bold beam projections in the *bhadra* part of the exterior lay-out of the *garbha* at the level of the *kumuda* moulding. These beam projections have their terminal carefully embellished by *gaṇas* as well as floral and vegetal motifs. Such features have also their corresponding provenance in the Gurjara-Pratihara style in Rajasthan, as at Mandore, and also continued these in the developed early Chalukyan temples of Paṭṭadakal.

III. (iii) *Pillar features*

As far as the pillar forms are concerned, the standard Chalukyan pillar is of square (*ruchaka*) type with a basal *pīṭha*, over which fluted shaft sections lead to a *mālāsthana* carrying looped garland ornamentation emerging from the mouth of *vyālas*. This is followed by a *padmabandha*, *kaṭasa*, *kumbha* (which in some cases might be modified into a *ghaṭa-pallava* or 'pot-and-foilage' motif) surmounted by a capital block over which corbels supporting the heavy *uttira* beams would be placed. The standard corbel of the

Chalukya temple is of the roll type, voluted and in single or double members, with a bold median band, fastening the voluted rolls. Sometimes, a regular *vyāḷa* or *gaṇa* is also shown as stretched across the median band. The variant corbel would be of the normal *taranga* type, or the *padma-kēsāra* type where the terminal of the corbel shows an inversion simulating ovary of a flower.

IV. *The southern vimāna type*

The southern *vimāna* type of Aihole has the same basic structure in the ground floor of the temple but super-structurally represents the typical storeyed *tālacchanda* ending with a *grīva* and *śikhara*. The *śikhara* would be either square or octagonal or circular representing the *Nāgara*, *Drāviḍa* and *Vēsara* forms. The *vimāna* models at Aihole are exemplified in the Meguti temple, Nadanagudi, Yeniyavargudi, the Jain shrine opposite Virūpāksha etc. In so far as the plinth features are concerned, the southern type continues to show the forms adopted for the 'northern', and has a prevailing *kapōta bandha* plinth. Some interesting variations however, are adopted in the *kumuda* which apart from the circular or *tripaṭṭa*, could also be multi-fluted (as seen in Durga temple, Huchchappayyagudi etc.). In all these cases, besides, the lowest moulding is a *padma* over the *upāna*, unlike the lower southern region, including Tamil Nadu where a *jagati* rises over the *upāna*, in a *pratibandha* category. However, by early 8th century A.D., the fixation of the plinth forms becomes more methodical and invariably have both *padabandha* and *kapōta-bandha*, for which *padma* and *vritta kumuda* mouldings became conventional, in place of a *jagati* and *tripaṭṭa kumuda*. The fluted *kumuda* should actually be taken as a variant of the *vritta kumuda*.

V. *Cult themes*

The cult themes which go hand in hand with the early Chalukyan temple of any religious persuasion and of any

formal model, would be the overdoor or *śākha* features, as already mentioned together with the Garuḍa, the depiction of Trinity, in separate independent panels in three adjacent ceiling sections of the central nave, outside the *garbhagriha*; the representation of *Dikpāla* grid in the outer *maṇḍapa* or *mukha maṇḍapa*, with the central square of the grid occupied by the deity consecrated in the sanctum. In fact, this feature is also emphasised in the Trinity panels as well wherein a particular deity, Viṣṇu or Śiva, in the sanctum is reflected by its central place on the ceiling. Aside of this, also *mithunas* in ravishing postures form an important feature of the pillar ornamentation. These have started right from the cave art stage where such *mithunas* were generally shown as bracket figures on the tops of pillars. But in structural style, they occupy faces of pillars and besides several amorous (but never erotic) postures, they also include certain tantric representations, as that of an ascetic and a she-donkey represented as *mithunas*. Such examples are found at Huchchappayyagudi, Huchchappayya Mutt and Durga temple, to mention a few.

An outstanding feature of southern *vimānas* at Aihole is the absence of the *śukanāsa* in them. It is, however, to be noted that this feature which is such a concomittant part of the *rēkhā-prāsāda*, gets introduced into the southern *vimāna* also by Paṭṭadakal after the Sangamēśvara stage, and thereafter (*i.e.*, from the 8th century A.D.), continued to be employed and followed also by the succeeding Rāṣṭra-kūṭas in their southern *vimāna* creations.

VI. Tiered Kadamba-Nāgara type

In addition to the above two forms of temples, a third interesting combination is also adopted at Aihole whose characteristic feature, however, is a tiered series of schematic *bhūmis* on its *śikhara* tower, represented by an alternation of *kapōṭa* and *kaṇṭhā*, and capped by either a *grīvasikhara* or by an *āmalaka* top. This form stands primarily for

certain gabled structures which represent the architecture of the coastal areas of heavy rainfall and these have become extensively adopted in the subsequent times, all over Karnataka, as also in the central Krishna and the Tungabhadra valley as well, as far as Alampur, upto which the empire of the western Chalukyan extended.

The same style which occurs also in some measure of strength in Saurashtra part of Gujarat, under the patronage of Maitraka kings of Valabhi, gets the appellation of *Phanasanakara* in the mediaeval architectural manuals of western India, and for the purpose of the Chalukya region are liable to be deemed as well represented by the term *kadamba-nāgara* style. Feature of this *kadamba-nāgara* combination would thus be a ground *tāla* which is indistinguishable from that of the other three styles, the presence of a tower with a series of tiered, schematic *bhūmis*, absence of *sukanāsa* and the adoption of both *śikhara* as well as *āmalaka*. In the former category, it is largely *nāgara* or square section in character. The temples of this form at Aihole would be Mallikarjuna, Chikkigudi, Gaudaragudi, Maddinagudi, Rachigudi, etc.

On the above basis, we find that the Chalukya region adopts a *via media* in handling the *rēkhā-prāsāda* and southern *vimāna* styles, and presents a combination of these also in the form of the *kadamba-nāgara*, and supports an indigenous *maṇḍapa* style shrines also, in the midst of the above three.

VII. Paṭṭadakal

Consolidation of the models: It is only from the Paṭṭadakal stage from the reign of the Vikramāditya II (733-746 A.D.), that the consolidation of the temple models come nearer to the models of the southern *vimāna* style of the Tamil country, thanks to the cultural impacts born of conflict between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas. Even here, the *sukanāsa* as stated already, continued to become a part of

even the southern *vimāna*, unlike its complete eschewal in the Tamil country. This Paṭṭadakal stage is represented by the temples of Pāpanātha, Sangamēśvara, Virūpāksha, Mallikārjuna (built by a junior queen of Vikramāditya II and also called Trailokyēśvara), Galaganātha, Kāśivīśvēśvara, Jambulinga and Kāḍasiddhēśvara in addition to which a ruined Jain shrine just outside the village falling outside the scope of the early Chalukya style also exists.

The Sangamēśvara or Vijayēśvara temple here of the time of the Vijayāditya, around the very close of the 7th century A.D., is the initial stage of the southern model and is very much like the upper Śivālaya except for the absence of the *hāra* in the latter for the *tālas*. The style of its carvings, on the walls also, further suggest by their incompleteness, the fact that Chalukya sculpture is carved *in situ* on the walls, *after* the walls and niches are built. In this respect, they have similarity with the Pallava temples at Kāñchipuram where again the carvings are *in situ*, and therefore spread over several adjacent slabs for each of their compositions. This developed style of Paṭṭadakal after Sangamēśvara, all the same, has some outstanding features in its southern *vimāna* models, *different* from that of the lower south. These would be (1) that the lineal axis of the temple follows the pattern of the typical Chalukya norm, namely, that of a raised central nave with clerestory, and slopy side aisles with prominent triple porch projections in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*; (2) the presence of *śukanāsa*; (3) the presence of two sub-shrines for Gaṇeśa and Durgā immediately outside the *garbhagriha*; (4) the optional omission of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* whose place is compensated by the *antarāla* in cases of *sāndhāra* shrines, with a covered circuit around the *garbha*. Except for the above, the temples retain the important features of the southern *vimāna* architecture, (a) in the clarity of the *anarṣita hāra* of the *tālas*, (b) in the variation of the *śikhara* into *nāgara* (*Virūpāksha*), *vēśara* (*Trailokēśvara*) only; (c) presence of both *Nandi-maṇḍapa* and

prākāra bandha; and (d) finally, the adoption of the *ashṭa-parivāra* unit for the sub-shrines.

In so far as the northern *rēkhā-prāsāda* style is concerned, the temples at Paṭṭadakal show practically a continuance, on the one hand, of the features already known in the Aihole stage, and also the degeneration on the other hand, of the style. Side by side with this, certain admixture of the northern and southern style are also noted in the *transitional* stage between Aihole and Paṭṭadakal, as reflected in the Pāpanātha temple which shows the *rēkhā-śikhara*, projecting grilled porches outside *garbha* which is typical northern feature, an unduly long series of halls upto the *mukha maṇḍapa* which is more a southern feature, the adoption of a *hāra* of *śāla* and *kūṭa* over the parapets of the terrace, notwithstanding the *rēkhā-śikhara* of the main shrine. The temple is sometimes taken as later to Virūpāksha by the occurrence of the inscriptions relating to certain artisans family mentioned in the Virūpāksha temple. However, stylistically and from its organisation, as compared to Virūpāksha, and also to other temples at Paṭṭadakal, there is no acceptable post-Virūpāksha evolutionary trend manifest in the Pāpanātha temple which, therefore, should be taken as essentially preceding Virūpāksha significantly. Its detached location away from the rest of the temple would also, to some extent, bear this out.

The Kāśivīśvēśvara temple which is of the *rēkhā-prāsāda* category and is somewhat later to the Galaganātha of the same category and more massive, has certain features in its front face of the *śikhara* wherein the *lāṭa* and the *jālaka* patterns recall outstanding parallels of the Gurjara-Pratihara style. Its multi-offsetted plinth, however, represents a developed trend. The temple, notwithstanding its abbreviated front chamber shorn of a *mukha maṇḍapa*, has the elements of the *Dikpāla* and other pillar carvings characteristic of the Paṭṭadakal style. It is interesting to

note that at Paṭṭadakal, there is no *Drāviḍa vimāna* category which generally is adopted in the *earlier* stages of both Chalukya and Tamil Nadu styles.

At Aihole there are also temples presenting certain advanced stages of the early mediaeval period in the *Tri-kūṭāchala* forms as seen in the Yoginārāyaṇa, Tryambakēśvara, Maddinaguḍi, Rāchiguḍi and Ramalingēśvara. The *śikhara* styles adopted in these are both of the southern *vimāna* evolution and of the *kadamba-nāgara* style.

VIII. *Kāñchi-Paṭṭadakal-Ellora*

Before closing this account, it would be appropriate also to comment upon the generally held notion that the Virūpāksha at Paṭṭadakal was itself a copy of the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchipuram, and became in its turn the model for the Kailāsa monolith of Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishna at Ellora. It may be noted that the latter two have some elements in common, in the general lay-out, in *genre*, and in the subsidiary *aṣṭaparivāra* shrine scheme. However, the Kailāsa monolith is a *Drāviḍa vimāna* whereas Virūpāksha is a *nāgara vimāna*. Between Virūpāksha and the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchipuram, however, there is practically no correspondence, except that Kailāsanātha, being a full and finite temple, should clearly have inspired Vikramāditya after his victorious campaign and capture of Kāñchipuram and endowments to Kailāsanātha, to build a temple equalling it in grandeur and also in southern *vimāna* style. The Kāñchipuram temple is again a *Drāviḍa vimāna* which Virūpāksha is not. The Kāñchipuram temple does not have a triple projecting porches. It has the *garbha* and *ardha maṇḍapa* alone, as the original unit, and a *Naṭa-maṇḍapa* well detached from it, whereas Virūpāksha followed the typical Chalukya interior axial lay-out. The sculptural decor of Virūpāksha and the Kailāsanātha also have much to differ from each other.

IX. *The range of inscribed records*

The list of inscriptions found in the important temples at Aihole are:

1. The oldest record, however, at Aihole is the famous Meguti temple record of Pulakēśin II dated 634 A.D., which forms a valuable basis for early Chalukya history.

2. *Ladkhan*—A record of the 9th century mentions a grant by a donor to the pious-500 body of *Chaturvēdis* of the capital of *Āryapura* (the variant name for Aihole). Another record from the same temple refers to the reign of Akālavarsha, probably Krishṇa II or III.

3. *Durga temple*—The earliest record is that of the Vikramāditya II (733–746).

4. *Huchchimalligudi*—Record of Vijayāditya (696–733) in the year 708–09, referring to oil for lamp by a merchant. Another of Rāshtrakūta Khotṭiga, in Śaka 893 (equal to 971 A.D.) referring to a *Gōsahasra* gift to a temple built by one Santa Govinda.

5. *Jyotirlinga group*—The oldest record is that of Vikramāditya II, mentioning *Ayyāvoḷe*. Two others of the 61st and 82nd year of Chalukya Vikrama era (1137 and 115 A.D.), respectively referring to the *Mahāgrahāra* of *Ayyāvoḷe* and to the grant to God *Chikkēśvara Dēva*.

6. *Galaganātha group*—Record of Śaka 831 of Rāshtrakūta Kannaradēva; a slightly earlier record on one of the pillars of the main Galaganātha temple carries the words '*Vamsika Bhittu*' in 7th century characters.

7. *Ramalingesvara*—Record dated the 20th year of the Chalukya Vikramāditya era 1095–96.

8. *Charanti Maṭh*—Trībhuvanamalla dēva (1119 A.D.), referring to repairs etc., by one Kēsarayya Setṭi of 500 *svāmis* of *Ayyāvoḷe*.

NEW LIGHT ON CHALUKYA ARCHITECTURE

S. R. RAO

Scholars working on Chalukya architecture have often discussed Gupta and Pallava influence in evolving the two major temple styles at Aihole, Paṭṭadakal, Badāmi and Mahākūṭa, and the chronological sequence of the Early Chalukya temples suggested by Percy Brown is often repeated despite new evidence available for modification from the excavations at Aihole and Badāmi. As I have already discussed this evidence elsewhere,¹ I do not intend repeating them here, nor do I like to discuss the chronology of the already known stone temples. In this brief paper new evidence brought to light regarding the existence of pre-Chalukya temples at Aihole and Paṭṭadakal is placed before the scholars for a proper assessment. The main question is whether these early brick temples can be taken as proto-types of the *Maṇḍapa*-type shrines, viz., the Gaudargudi and Kunti temple built in stone. Before answering this question I give some details of the excavated brick structures.

1. *Brick Temple in Sangamēśvara Complex*

A major portion of the plan of the brick structure underlying the foundations of the hall of Sangamēśvara temple and sealed by layer 2 is now available. It consists of a pillared hall and a detached rectangular cell on the east. The overall dimension of the hall, the western extremity of which is still unexposed, is 14 metres from east to west and 15 metres from north to south. Traces of a flight of steps can be seen on the eastern side while remains of two brick walls enclosing one of the bays at the western end of the nave are also visible. Four rows of pillars dividing the hall into two side aisles and a nave are clearly seen. The base of each pillar is one metre square but the bases along

the periphery are not detached from the walls. Obviously the peripheral wall, perhaps only a parapet, did not support the roof. Michell has surmised that the superstructure was of timber, which is quite likely.² The sanctum formed by enclosing one of the *ankanas* of the nave might not have been joined to the rear wall, in which case the ground plan of the brick temples closely follows the plan of Gaudargudi. If however, it was hitched to the back wall it would follow only partially the plan of Ladkhan. The latter has a porch attached to the hall which is conspicuous by its absence in the brick temple under reference and in the Gaudargudi which precedes Ladkhan in date. Whether the detached brick cell on the east was one of the components of the brick temple is still doubtful. Be that as it may, one thing is certain. The early *mandapa*-type of stone temples at Aihole were modelled on the basis of the brick temple under discussion since we know that the latter belongs to the 3rd century A.D. The ceramic evidence in the form of Russet-coated painted ware and the coarse red ware (especially bowls with flaring rim) suggests a Late Śātavāhana period for the brick temple. Whether it was in existence until the Sangamēśvara temple was built is a moot point. About 150 metres away from the temple under reference, there is an ancient mound along the main road leading to the village. From the sections of the said mound some sherds of the Śātavāhana period were recovered. This mound must have anciently extended upto the Galaganātha temple. At the foot of the hill known as Bachanagudda situated about one km. from Paṭṭadakal, there is a Śātavāhana site which supports the view that the present site of Chalukya temples on the Malaprabhā was occupied during the Śātavāhana times.

2. Brick temple in Ambigergudi complex

While exposing the buried plinth of the temple known as Ambigergudi at Aihole, a brick wall was noticed

underlying the rear wall of the sanctum of the Chalukya stone temple. A layer yielding sherds of typical redware bowls of the Śātavāhana period intervenes between the brick wall and stone temple. One of the cross-walls of the brick structure was subsequently exposed. It is observed that the alignment of the stone structure differs from that of the underlying brick structure. Hence the possibility of the latter being only a brick footing for the stone wall should be ruled out. As only a partial plan of the brick shrine is available, all that can be said at present is that the Ambigergudi has been built after digging into the remains of a Śātavāhana brick temple of which a single cell, almost certainly the *garbhagriha*, is traceable partly. Whether it was a *mandapa*-type shrine resembling the Gaudargudi, it is difficult to say. As regards the Śātavāhana occupation of Aihole, clear evidence is provided by a lead coin of the Late Śātavāhana period. On palaeographical grounds it is assignable to the 3rd Century A.D.

A fragmentary brick wall noticed below the foundations of the Ladkhan temple is datable to the 4th Century A.D., if not earlier, on the basis of the ceramic evidence. Layer 7 sealing this neatly-built brick structure has yielded the Red polished ware.

3. *Brick Temple in the Jaina Temple Complex at Paṭṭadakal*

An elaborately planned brick temple has come to light in the course of excavation in the precincts of the Jaina Temple. Here again the brick temple underlies the Chalukya stone temple but the *garbhagriha*, *antarāla* and a part of the *Sabhamandapa* of the former project beyond the back wall of the stone temple. The moulded courses of the plinth of the brick temple are similar to those of the Gaudargudi. In the absence of clear-cut evidence, ceramic or otherwise, it cannot be considered pre-Chalukya. In all

probability it was one of the earliest Chalukya temples built in bricks.

From the evidence adduced above it is reasonable to conclude that the pillared hall-type brick temples of the Late Śātavāhana period served as models for the early *maṇḍapa*-type stone temples of the Chalukyas, and the brick tradition continued side by side with the stone edifices for some time.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE ŚAIVA TEMPLES OF THE BADĀMI CHALUKYA PERIOD—A STUDY

A. SUNDARA

Aihole, Badāmi, Mahākūṭa and Paṭṭadakal are pre-eminently well-known for the variety and number of their fascinating temples particularly of the Badāmi Chalukya period, belonging to the three principal religious faiths, viz., Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist. The Brahmanical temples are far more in number than those of the other two.

The Brahmanical temples are affiliated to at least four different sects: *Śaiva*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *Saura* and *Śākta*. Nevertheless there is considerable number of temples that, owing to their present unidentifiable condition or conversion to some other sect effected by the dominant adherents by replacing the original idols with their own in course of time, their original affiliations cannot be ascertained. Unmistakable original characteristics of the extant temples undoubtedly indicate that the *Śaiva* temples are by far the largest, in number. General survey of the architectural, iconographic and religious aspects of the temples of these places have already been made by many scholars.¹ An attempt therefore is made here to study some aspects of typical *Śaiva* temples of the period, particularly chronological and religious, based on the iconographic and architectural features and inscriptional references. Such study is likely to point out also certain peculiar architectural features devised in response to the respective religious sects.

The Śaiva Temples

The Śaiva temples stylistically may be resolved into the following groups:

- I. 1. The Śaiva temple
(*Haḷē-Mahākūṭa*)

Of the *Chaitya* type

- II. 2. Dilapidated Dēvālaya
(*Hosa-Mahākūṭa*) Of the *vimāna* type
(first phase)
3. Lower Śivālaya (Badāmi)
- III. 4. Mallikārjuna temple
(*Hire-Mahākūṭa*) } Of the *vimāna* type
5. Mahākūṭeśvara „ „ } (Second phase)
6. Mālegitti Śivālaya (Badāmi)
- IV. 7. Small shrines (*Mahākūṭa*) of the proto-type
Kadamba-Nāgara
- V. Rock cut cave temples (Aihole and Badāmi)
8. Naganātha Temple (Badāmi)
- VI. 9. Huchhimalli Temple, Of the *Maṇḍapa*
(Aihole) type with the *śikhara*
of the Proto-type
Vimāna style.
10. Galaganātha (Paṭṭadakal) Of the *maṇḍapa* type
11. Pāpanātha „ having the *śikhara*
of the *Rēkhā Nāgara*
type. Experimental
stage
- VII. 12. Kāṣasiddheśvara (Paṭṭadakal) Of the *Rēkhā Nāgara*
type
13. Jambulinga „ „ „
14. Tārābasappa (Aihole) „ „
15. Huchchappiah temple (Aihole) „ „
16. Small shrines (Hire-Mahākūṭa) „ „
17. Kāśī Viśveśvara (Paṭṭadakal) „ „

VIII. 18. Sangamēśvara temple (Paṭṭadakal)	Of the <i>Vimāna</i> type (Final phase)
19. Virūpākṣa temple	„ „
20. Mallikārjuna temple	„ „

Type I.—The apsidal Śiva temple at *Haḷe Mahākūṭa*, (described by Gupte and dated to 5th c.A.D. by him) consists of an apsidal sanctum, a small pillared *maṇḍapa* and a *mukhamāṇḍapa* in front. Only the *adhishṭhāna* of the *mukhamāṇḍapa* is extant. The side wall of the *maṇḍapa* goes round the sanctum leaving space in between, for *Pradakṣiṇāpatha*. Thus in plan, it is similar to the early Buddhist *Chaityas*.

In the sanctum is a big linga with *Brahmasūtra* of the *Bāṇa* type without *Madhyānāḍi* (Fig. E, 1) on circular pītha in worship. The doorframe is plain and consists of four *śākhas*. The *lalāṭabimba* of the lintel has Garuḍa holding the tails of Nāgas. Above the lintel are three niches of Chaitya type two at the extremes, one at the centre, carrying *āmālaka* at the top. There are no *dyārapālas*. There is a loose sculpture of Kārtikēya in *samabhanga*, two handed, holding *sūla* in the right. His *vāhana*, peacock, is behind him. The flowing floriated carving on the sides of the double brackets of the pillars of the *maṇḍapa*, and heavy *Chaitya* motifs without *dēvakoshṭa* underneath on the exterior of the wall at regular intervals are particularly noteworthy as they, especially the latter, are found in a very few of the other temples in these places.

Outside the temple and to its right side in the field is a broken Śivalinga with *Brahmasūtra* of the *Bāṇa* type, i.e., Type 1, incised thereon. The *madhyānāḍi* consists of two lines flowing from the apex down to the octagonal part.

Type II.—Both the temples of this type are directly raised on a low *adhishṭhāna* consisting of *Upāna* and *Jagati* only, unlike that of the other such as *Kumuda*, *Kaṇṭha*, *Kapota*, etc. The dilapidated temple facing west, in *Hosa-*

Mahākūṭa consists of a sanctum and a smaller *mukhamāṇḍapa*. The lower *Śivālaya*, probably a Gaṇeśa temple as indicated by the oval shaped *Padmapīṭha* though it has now sanctum only, originally had a closed *pradakṣiṇāpatha* with *mukhamāṇḍapa*. The *śikhara* consists of one *tala* and *stūpi*. But the upper part of the *tala* above the *kapōta* varies from the other. In the *Śivālaya* of the former the upper part consists of two plain horizontal tiers with a *Chaitya kūṭa* in the centre on each side and that of the latter, of two *kūṭas* at the extreme and a *śāla* at the centre. Further the *stūpi* of the former is *Nāgara* (square) and of the latter, *Drāviḍa* (octagonal) with *kūṭas* at the corners having each a seated sculpture, on each side and *Padma* at the top crowned peculiarly with *āmala śilā*. The *tala* of the latter is hallow actually as if a sanctum.

The linga having, octagonal, square and circular section (*i.e.*, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva *bhāgas*) rounded top, now at the left junction of the *mukhamāṇḍapa* and sanctum of the former must have evidently been from the sanctum.

The socket in the *padmapīṭha* of the other temple, is semi-circular 82×50 upto 10 cms deep and becomes further downwards 35 cms square, thus obviously meant not for Śivalinga but for a sculpture probably Gaṇeśa.

Type III.—In the next type there are distinct variations in plan and elevation. Raised on a high *adhiṣṭhāna*, the temple consists of a sanctum with a closed *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, a pillared *maṇḍapa* and a smaller *mukhamāṇḍapa*.

The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is wider than the sanctum and the *Pradakṣiṇāpatha* together thus differing in plan from that of the Type I.

The *adhiṣṭhāna* of the first two temples consists of *Upāna*, *Vritta*, *Kaṇṭha* and *Padmaḍaḷavari* enclosing sculptured friezes, a feature found only in these; that of the last, *Upāna*, *tripaṭṭa Vritta*, *Kaṇṭha* with sculptured panels, *Kapōta*, and *vyālavāri*. The latter type, *i.e.*, *Manchabandha*

type frequently occurs in many of the early temples of this period.

In all there may be five or seven niches containing sculptures including the *Śaiva dvārapālas* in the front walls, with perforated grills in between in the side walls of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*. It is noteworthy that the *Śaiva dvārapālas* found in the *devakōshṭhas* in the front walls are outside the *Mukha-maṇḍapa*.

The top part of the walls, from above the *kapōta*, consist of rather indistinct *Śālas* and *Kūṭas* usually clearly found with the temples of the *Vimāna* type of slightly later date. At the corners there may be a prominent square solid cupola. The *Śikharas* are similar to that of the lower *Śivālaya* in type, but the crowning member, if there be, is not extant.

In front, there is usually a Nandi *Maṇḍapa* enshrining a colossal sculpture of Nandi. But if there was a Nandi *maṇḍapa* in front of Mālegitti Śivālaya is uncertain.

In the sanctum of the Mallikarjuna temple at Hosamahākūṭa, is a big Śivalinga (51 cms high, girth 1.48 m) with *Brahmasūtra* of the Type 2a (Fig. E) and almost flat top and rounded edge, fixed into a square *pīṭha* of 87 cm high. It is noteworthy that the three vertical medial lines do not touch the middle octagonal part of the linga.

In the doorframes of the sanctum and the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* are: Garuḍa holding the tails of the serpents at the central lintel and a *Śaiva dvārapāla* and two ladies, at the bottom of the jambs on each side.

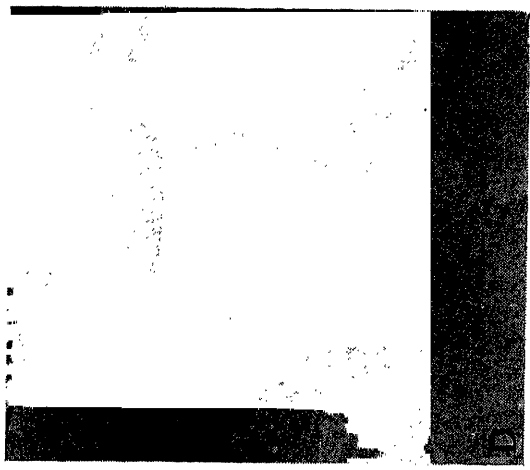
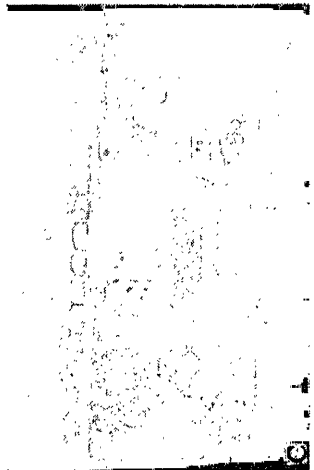
In the niches of the exterior walls excluding the *Śaiva dvārapālas* in the front, are mostly the sculptures of various forms of Śiva holding different attributes such as, in a circumambulatory way, *triśūla* and *sarpa* or *Kumuda*, *Japamāla*, *Kalaśa* or *Japamāla* and *paraśu*; wearing *Jaṭā* or *Kirīṭamakuṭa*; *Ardhanārīśvara* and *Vishṇu* holding *bahubīja phala*, *Chakra*, *śankha* the left lower hand being *kaṭīnyasta*.



I. (a) & (d) A Temple in Ruins with lingam inside—Hire Mahakuta.

(b) Nandi in front of Mallikarjuna Temple—Mahakuta.

(c) Lingam on a beam in Kasiviswara Temple—Pattadakal.





II (a) Papanatha Temple—Southern wall having a vertical break—
 Pattadakal. (b) Lingam with Brahmasutra of the Type 3—Pattadakal.
 (c) A Sculpture in a niche, Southern Wall of the Mahakuteshvara
 Temple—Mahakuta.

The panels in the *adhishṭhāna* worn out here and there contain bas-reliefs of couples, Viṣṇu of the above type, Viṣṇu on flying Garuḍa, Nrisimha killing Hiranyaśyapu, royal couples, seated Nrisimha, etc.

The colossal Nandi in iconographic traits differs much from Nandi of any other temples at Paṭṭadakal and is thus one of its kind (Plate I, *b*). Particularly the garland of the flattish bells with their tongue projecting a little out unlike the spherical groins obviously containing freely moving solid iron balls instead of tongue usually found in all the other Nandis, is strikingly distinct. The style thus suggests a date earlier than that of any other Nandi.

The *Mahākūṭeśvara* temple: the linga in the sanctum has thick black coating (*Kanti*) and hence its features are not clear. In the *lalāṭabimba* are: a god in seated posture and two devotees with folded hands on his sides, indistinct for identification. At the bottom of the jambs are Gangā on one side and Yamunā on the other each with a male attendant. The doorframe of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is plain and recently painted.

In addition to the Śaiva *dvārapālas* in the front walls, in the clockwise way, the other sculptures in the *dēvakōshṭhas* are Śiva in different forms such as in standing posture cross-legged with Nāga *kuṇḍalas*, V-shaped necklace which is particularly noteworthy etc., (Plate II, *c*) or with Nāga and *Chakra kuṇḍalas*; two handed holding *triśūla* or *Ardhanārīśvara* etc.

The panels of the *adhishṭhāna* contain bas-reliefs depicting mostly Śaiva Purāṇic legends and contemporary social life. Many are worn out or distorted. Some of them are: a man with two ladies one of them approaching him on one side and a tall staff tied with piece of cloth and a dwarf or monkey (?) on the other; four-handed god holding *musalā* (?) in the right upper and *pātra* in right lower and his consort carrying a blooming lotus in the left; Viṣṇu with *chakra*:

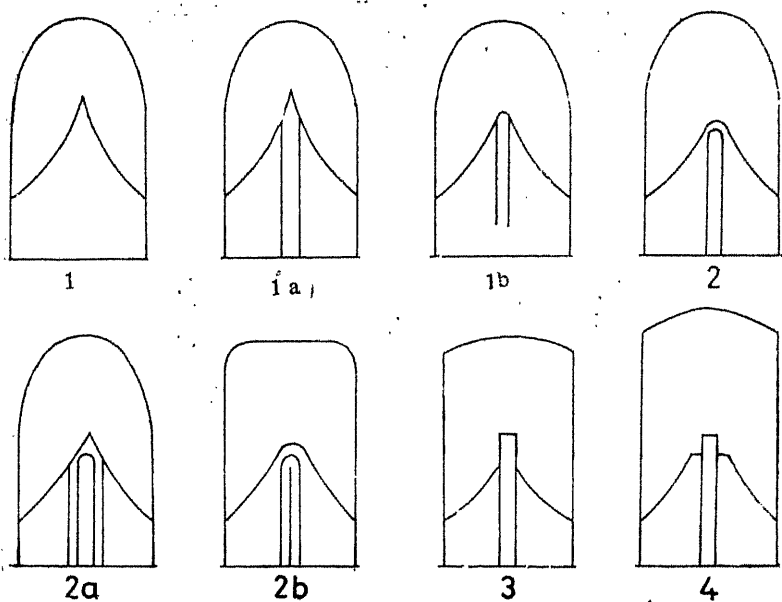


FIG. E. Types of Brahmasutra engraved on the Early Sivalingas in North Karnataka.

and lotus in the upper hands and on his sides with Garuḍa and two ladies; Śiva and Pārvatī; couples; royal couple seated with an attendant; God (?) in a chariot, aiming an arrow; elephants; standing Viṣṇu with Garuḍa, Viṣṇu on flying Garuḍa; Viṣṇu fighting with bow and sword and also horse and elephant riders; couples; Śiva (?) with Gangā and Gaurī; royal palace scene showing a king seated on the seat and his consort seated below and two chowri-bearers, a lady standing; couple seated; a royal person with two female chowri bearers; Ratī and Manmatha; Śiva and Pārvatī, and ten headed Rāvaṇa; Śiva-Pārvatī seated on Nandi and Rāvaṇa performing penance on one leg, Śiva-Pārvatī in Kailāsa; Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa; royal couple, a royal couple in the palace, the king cajoling his queen before going to warfield; elephant, horse riders etc. in the battle field; victorious king with the captured on his knees; again war scenes; couples; Śiva with Gangā and Gaurī, etc.

The anatomical features in particular such as of the countenance of Śiva standing cross-legged in the southern niche and his V-shaped necklace, the folded dress of Śiva and Ardhanārīśvara of the other niches, the mode of showing ribbed bun like hair-do of the ladies, on a side of the head are distinct, not found in the temples of the other types and appear to represent early traditions. In particular the type of V-shaped ornament occurs frequently in the sculptures of donor couples of the Early Buddhist *Chaityas* in the Deccan.

Further in between the Mallikārjuna and the tank within the prākāra is a row of about ten lingas with *Brahmasūtra* of the Types 1, 1 a, 1 b, 2, and 2 a (Fig. E).

In between the Mallikārjuna temple and the tank or between shrines No. 5 and 6 (Fig. F), is another temple in ruins bigger than any other shrines, consisting of a sanctum and a fallen *mukha maṇḍapa* containing a linga with *Brahmasūtra* of the Type 1 and a Nandi rather different in icono-

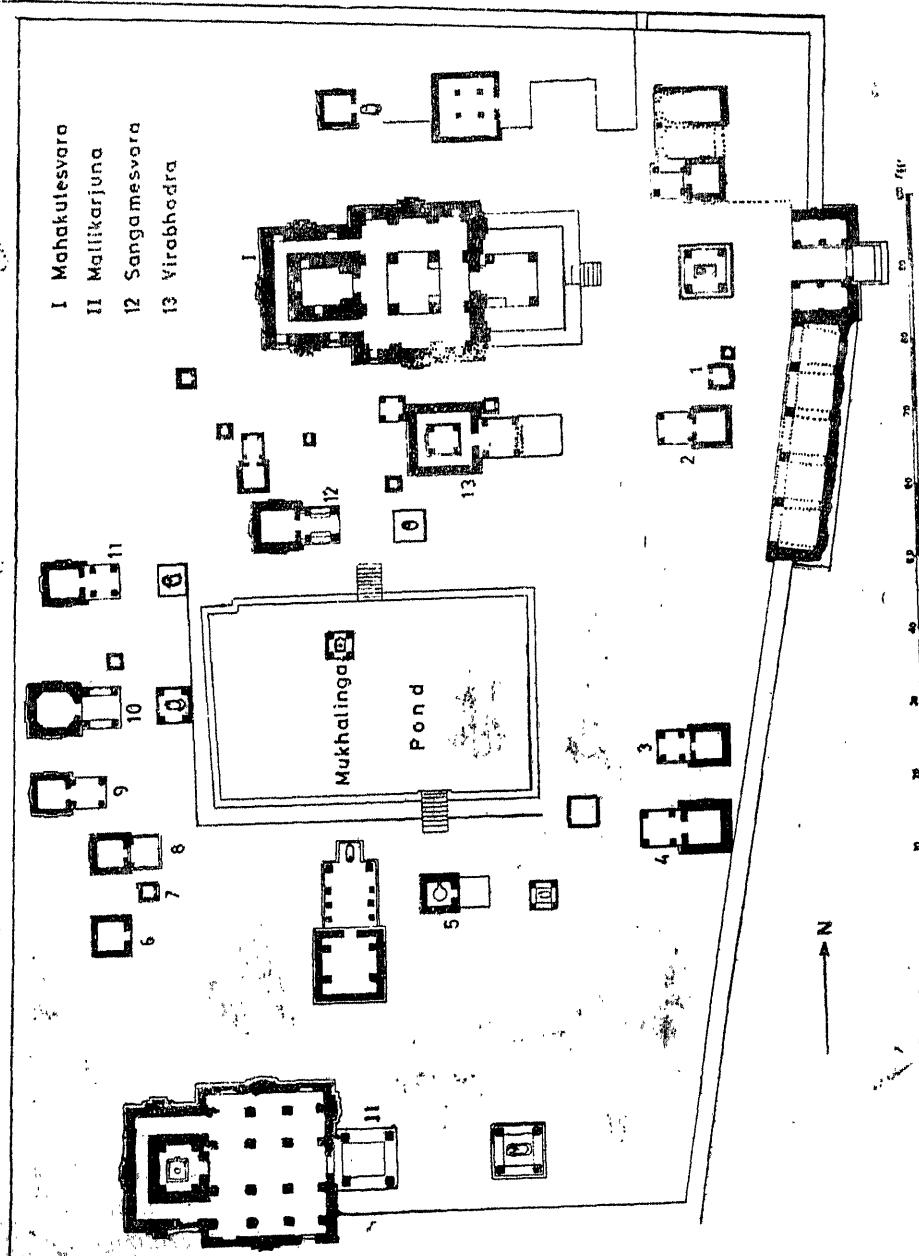


Fig. F. Hoja Mahakuta : Temple complex within the enclosure.

graphic characteristics from that of Mallikārjuna or of the others (Plate I: *a* and *d*).

Outside the *prākāra* of the Mahākūṭeśvara group in the craggy area with thin forest of bushes and thorny scrubs, between the temple on the hill and the Mahākūṭeśvara group and in the southern outskirts of the latter which is a valley are, at least a little more than a dozen lingas with *Brahmasūtra* of invariably the Type 1 and rounded top. The lingas are circular in the upper, octagonal in the middle and square in the lower parts, some fixed in circular *pīṭhas* with *Jaladhāri*. They are in various stages of dilapidation.

In the valley immediately from the southern boundary of the Mallikārjuna temple are found, here and there, redware pottery and brick-bats apparently of pre-Chalukya period and of the Chalukya. But it is not clearly discernible from these surface indications if the site was a regular habitation site. Preliminary trial pits here may indicate the nature and potentialities of the site.

Between the valley and the Mahākūṭeśvara group is an imposing gateway with a male and a female skeletal *bhūta gaṇas* (locally but incorrectly known as *Vātāpi* and *Ilvala*) on the sides and Gaṇēśa in the lintel, probably of the original *prākāra* enclosing the temple complex built of bricks, now no more.

The Mālegitti Śivālaya differs in plan from that of Mallikārjuna or Mahākūṭeśvara temple as it is *nirandhāra*, in its elevational aspect, it resembles them.

Besides, the frontal *Śaiva dvārapālas*, the sculptures in southern and northern niches in the central exterior walls of the pillared *maṇḍapa*, are Śiva and Viṣṇu.

In all the above temples, it is noteworthy that there is no *kakshāsana* in the *mukhamāṇḍapa*.

Type IV.—General characteristics: Each of the small shrines with the proto-type Kadamba *Nāgara* at Mahākūṭa (Fig. F; Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11) consists of a small sanctum and a pillared open *mukhamaṇḍapa* occasionally with *kakshāsana* having reliefs of devotees worshipping linga etc., on the exterior. The sanctum is superimposed with a conical *Śikhara* consisting of horizontal tiers and recesses alternately diminishing as they go up and crowned with an *āmalaka*. The recesses have each a row of low reliefs of niche, each containing what looks like a linga rather similar to that in the *śikharas* of the Gupta temples at Bhitargaoan, Deogarh, etc.

At the central exterior wall on each side, there may be a niche containing sculptures of standing Śiva with Nandi behind or Lakulīśa, Ardhanārīśvara and Harihara or Viṣṇu. While the Śivalingas of Nos. 4, 5, 9 have *Brahmasūtra* of the Type 1, those of Nos. 3, 11 have the *Brahmasūtra* of the Type 3. The doorframe has Garuḍa holding the tails of the Nāgas at the centre of the lintel, Gangā and Yamunā at the bottom of the jambs and *Śaiva dvārapālas* on the pilasters by the sides of the doorframe unlike those of the Mallikārjuna and Mahākūṭeśvara.

At Aihole, the Mallikārjuna temple is a full fledged temple of the above type consisting of *mukhamaṇḍapa*, *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and sanctum containing linga of the Type 1. Above the Garuḍa on the *lalāṭabimba* of the doorframe of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of this temple is the relief of an elephant seated with front legs raised.

Type V. Rock-cut cave temples—In the rock-cut cave temple at Aihole are the panels of Naṭarāja with Gaṇeśa, Kārtikēya, and Saptamātrikas in the right cell; Gangādhara, Harihara in the central *maṇḍapa* with peculiarly *yavana dvārapālas* in the front flanked by *Śankhanidhi* and *Padmanidhi*; Bhūvarāha and Mahiṣamardini in the *antarāla*; and a rock-cut Śivalinga on a square pīṭha in the sanctum. The

surface of the linga is worn out. The anatomical features of the gods and goddesses, their elongated *kirīṭamakūṭa* and grooved (indicating the folds) dress, are unusual not found frequently in any of the figures of the temples, structural or rock-cut. Besides, there is a sixteen sided pillar in front of the cave temple comparable to a similar pillar of Śiva temple in Bhumara, of the Gupta period. In front of the temple, to its left in the field, is a small temple of *Kūṭa* type with *śikhara* without *tala* but with a *Drāviḍa stūpi*. In the sanctum is a small linga with flat top and *Brahmasūtra* of Type 1.

The rock-cut temple at Badāmi as is well known and has panels of Natarāja, Mahiṣamardini and Kārtikēya in the western cell outside the verandah; Harihara and Ardhanārīśvara in the verandah and a finely rock-cut linga with shallow convex top and rounded edge and *Brahmasūtra* of Type 1 on a square *piṭha* in the sanctum.

Type VI: Some temples in experimental stage—The Huchchimalli temple (recently renamed as Kārtikēya temple by the Archaeological Survey of India) with roof sloping on the sides and raised at the centre over the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*, is a Śaiva temple and has a linga with *Brahmasūtra* of Type 2*b* and flattish rounded top. The linga is of sandstone. Raised on a high plinth rather similar to that of Type II temples, it consists of a sanctum with closed *pradakṣiṇā-paṭha*, a sort of proto-type *antarāla* demarcated subsequently in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and a *mukhamāṇḍapa* with *Kakshāsanas* having sculptured panels on the exterior. From above the sanctum rises the *śikhara* of *Rēkhā-Nāgara Prāsāda* type. The *adhishṭhāna* of the sanctum and of the temple is of typical *Manchabandha* type.

In the ceiling of the *Mukhamāṇḍapa* is a fine bas-relief of Kārtikēya and in that of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* are *Aṣṭa-dikpālas*.

The doorframe of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* has Garuda in the centre of lintel and at the bottom of the door jambs on

each side are a man holding a staff, Gangā, Yamunā and amorous couple (that reminds similar early representations). The interior doorframe of the sanctum has Gangā, Yamunā a couple with dwarf attendants and peculiarly an elephant at the bottom of the *śākhas* on each side. Immediately above the Garuḍa in the *lalāṭabimba* of the lintel is the relief of Naṭarāja. In view of the relief of elephant at the bottom of the doorjambs of the sanctum and of the presence of Kārtikēya relief on the ceiling of the *Mukhamanḍapa* the temple is taken to be by some scholars originally of Kārtikēya and the linga therefore is in replacement of the original idol. But the god in the sanctum is not always indicated by the relief in the ceiling of the *Mukhamanḍapa*. For instance there is a fine relief of Sūrya in the ceiling of the *Mukhamanḍapa* of the Virūpāksha temple originally a Śaiva temple with śivalinga. In the doorframe of the *sabhāmanḍapa* of the flat roofed *Alli* (= *Araḷi*, the *pipal* tree) *Basappa* temple of late 8th c. A.D., below the beautiful basreliefs Gangā and Yamunā unusually placed beside the jambs, are: *Purnaghaṭa Śankha*/*Padma-nidhis* and an elephant. In the sanctum is a Śivalinga with *Brahmasūtra* of Type III. In the Śiva temples of the later Kadambas at Hālsi, containing Śivalingas two elephants are invariably carved at the centre of the threshold of the sanctum. Secondly, the rock-material of the lingas of the Śiva temples dating from about 8th cent. A.D., or a little earlier are invariably of black granite, and have convex top and the *Brahmasūtra* of Type 3. The lingas of the earlier period, i.e., upto 7th cent. A.D. in this area are of sandstone. The rock material of the linga now in the temple and its form and *Brahmasūtra* suggest a date not much removed from the period of the temple construction. The temple, therefore, appears to be originally dedicated to Śiva as indicated by Naṭarāja relief immediately above the *lalāṭabimba* of the doorframe of the sanctum. There is a frieze of Saptamātrikās in the southwest corner of the *sabhāmanḍapa*.

The doorframe consisting of three pieces: two jambs with perforated grills and a lintel fixed in between the two central pillars in front of the sanctum implies what may be called *antarāla* in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. But the sides of the *antarāla* are not covered. As the doorframe is fixed against the carved medallions on the pillars, it was evidently fixed at a later period.

Similarly the *śikhara* of the *Rēkhā Nāgara prāsāda* with the *Chaitya kūḍus* containing the bas-relief of Nāṭaraja, right over the sanctum, is most probably raised at a later period. For in relation to the temple as such, it is strikingly disproportionate, and rather unimpressive. In the case of temples with this type of *śikhara* without closed *pradakṣhiṇāpatha*, the edges of the *śikhara* coincide with the edges of the walls of the sanctum in such a way that the vertical sides of the both are in the same plane. Of course, unavoidably it should become disproportionate in the case of *sāndhāra* temples and thus architecturally unsuitable to them. The construction of the *śikhara* of the type to the above temple must, therefore, be an afterthought by way of experimentation. This is what appears to be even in the case of Durga temple. Originally the Huchchimalli temple, therefore, was probably flat roofed.

The severely plain *kanṭha* of the *adhishṭhāna*, the provision of the *kakshāsana* in the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, the originally flat roof and the ground plan make it varied from the Mallikārjuna temple at Mahākūṭa. In plan it is comparable to upper Śivālaya.

The *sāndhāra* Nāganātha temple in Badāmi consists of a *mukhamaṇḍapa*, a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and a sanctum with closed *Pradakṣhiṇāpatha* and is flat roofed. Its *adhishṭhāna* differs considerably from that of the Types II and III and consists of *Jagati*, *upāna*, fluted *vritta*, *kanṭha* with mostly *simha* etc., and *Padma*. In plan it follows that of the Mallikārjuna. On the exterior wall above the

dēvakōshṭhas, are small bas-reliefs of Viṣṇu, Śiva Mahiṣa-mardini and beneath the *kapōta*, Kārtikēya seated on peacock.

Right from above the sanctum rises *śikhara* of the *Vimāna* type, without *śukanāsi* partly disturbed. Only its two *talas* each with *kapota* are extant. But like that of the Mallikārjuna or Mahākūṭa or Mālegitti Śivālaya there is no small parapet (*hāra*) on the wall at the edge of the roof, relieved indistinctly into proto-type *śālas* and *kūṭas*. But there are fine carvings of *śālas* and *kūṭas* right above the grilled windows. In the ceiling of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* are finely carved panels of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahma. The *linga* in the sanctum has the *Brahmasūtra* of the Type 3 (Fig. E) and is of black granite.

The two *sāndhāra* temples: Galaganātha and the Pāpanātha in Paṭṭadakal, as in the case of Huchchimalli temple at Aihole, have the *śikharas* of the *Rēkhā Nāgara-Prāsāda* possibly added to them subsequently. Like the Chandraśekhara temple in this locality both were originally flat roofed. Secondly, in the exterior walls of the sanctum part on each side there is a huge *dēvakōshṭha* with prominently projecting porch.

The extant parts of the Galaganātha are only the floor of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, the sanctum and the southern and the south-western parts of the outer wall. In the sanctum is *linga* with sagger top and *Brahmasūtra* of the Type 3 thereon. It is circular, octagonal and square in the upper, middle and lower parts respectively and of probably black granite. It is particularly noteworthy that it has slopy roof from the sides of the imposing *śikhara* covering the *pradakṣhiṇāpatha*. It is similar to that of the *Maṇḍapa* type of temples like the *Śiva* (formerly called Ladkhan) temple in Aihole.

The sanctum is narrowed in front into a short vestibule carrying thereon a short *śukanāsi* with *mukhapatti* containing Śiva Natarāja panel. The doorframe of the vestibule has

Naṭarāja in the *lalāṭabimba* and Gangā, Yamunā at the bottom of the jambs.

The Pāpanātha consists of a *mukhamaṇḍapa* with *kakshāsana*, a pillared *sabhāmaṇḍapa* also with *kakshāsana*, a rare feature, another pillared *maṇḍapa* (i.e., *ardhamaṇḍapa*) and a *sāndhāra* sanctum. It is particularly noteworthy that in both the southern and northern walls at the corresponding points a little away from the eastern side of the *dēvakōshṭhas*, there is clear cut vertical break from the bottom to top even cutting the previously carved bas-reliefs undoubtedly indicating that all the *maṇḍapas* were subsequently added (Plate II, a). This is further supported by the pattern of the display of the sculptures on the walls. The Rāmāyaṇa narrative panels in the southern exterior wall and the panels depicting Kirātārjunīyam story and scenes from varied sources in the northern wall actually start from the lines of the break and proceed eastwards. From these lines westwards in the southern side are: Naṭarāja, Yama, colossal image of Naṭarāja in the *dēvakōshṭha*, Brahma, Śiva, Indra, a lady, colossal image of Śiva in Gajāsūramardana form (on the front sides of the pillars of the porch are: Kṛṣṇa as Govardhana-giridhārī (Kālīyamardana ?), Nṛsiṃha killing Hiraṇya Kashyapu, (north side), Nṛitya Gaṇeśa, Varuṇa, standing Viṣṇu, the colossal image of Naṭarāja with Gajēndramōksha, Trivikrama on the pillars, and Brahma and Viṣṇu on the sides, Agni, Mahishāsura-Mardini and Śiva-Pārvatī. The image indicates the prominence given to Śiva and have less connection with the narrative panels on the side walls of the *maṇḍapas*.

The topmost parapet from above the *Kapōta* of the walls, is relieved into series of *kūṭas* and *sālas* alternately, a distinct feature of a temple with *sikhara* of the *Vimāna* type. This peculiar feature also would strongly suggest that the *sikhara* of the type it has, was added subsequently.

The *lalāṭabimba* of the doorframe of the sanctum has Gajalakṣmī with two chowries crossed and Indra etc.,

carrying their respective *dhvajās* (flags). Within the sanctum is a linga with *Brahmasūtra* of the Type 3 of black granite fixed in the square *pīṭha*.

Type VII. Temples of Rēkhā Nāgara Prāsāda type—The temples of this type are: Kāḍasiddhēśvara, Jambulinga, Kāśivīśvēśvara at Paṭṭadakal, Tārābasappa, Huchchappaiahguḍi, Chakraguḍi, at Aihole.

The type generally consists of a sanctum with *dēva-kōshṭhas* in the exteriors at the cardinal points and a *śikhara* of *Rēkhā Nāgara prāsāda* type and a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (as in Jambulinga, Kāḍasiddhēśvara) sometimes with *antarāla* in between (as in Kāśivīśvēśvara), and a *mukhamaṇḍapa* (Tara-basappa, etc.) or of a sanctum and a porch only (small shrines in *Hosa-Mahākūṭa*).

The *dēvakoshṭhas* of the Kāḍasiddhēśvara and Jambulinga and No. 9 (Fig. F) at Mahākūṭa contain Lakuliśa, Viṣṇu (Harihara?) Ardhanārīśvara or as in 10 Bhūvarāha, Viṣṇu and Ugra Narasimha or Nrisimha and Gajāsuramardana in Huchchappaiahguḍi.

In Jambulinga temple, the lintel of the doorframe of the sanctum has excellent sculptures of Jaṭādhāri Śiva on the couchant Nandi and Pārvatī in the middle and Brahma and Viṣṇu at the extremities. In all the others occurs Garuḍa holding the tails of the serpent in the *lalāṭabimba* of the lintel.

In Tārābasappa it is noteworthy that two sculptures of Gaṇeśa and Mahishamardini are found on the sides of the doorway of the sanctum and also a frieze of Saptamātrika. Above the Garuḍa in the *lalāṭabimba* is Naṭarāja. The Huchchappaiahguḍi, too, besides many sculptures of couples on the pillars of the *Mukhamaṇḍapa*, has Gaṇeśa and Mahishamardini facing each other on the pilasters flanking the doorframe of the sanctum.

Of all the temples of this type, the Kāśivīśvēśvara is the most ornate, richly carved and well developed,

The pillars in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, consisting of fluted shaft and *pūrṇaghaṭas* or gedrooned *kumbha*, have panels depicting episodes from the Purāṇas and Bhāgavata such as Śiva in Tripurāntaka form, Gangāvatarana with Bhagīratha, Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa, Gajāsura-mardana, Naṭarāja, Krishna's birth, his removal to Gokula, Krishnalilā i.e., Kāliyamardana, Yama-lārjunabhaṅga, killing of Dhēnuka, Kharāsura. etc.

In Mahākūṭa the shrine No. 12 with *Rēkhā Nāgara Prāsāda śikhara*, has in its *dēvakōshṭhas* on the exterior wall, Lakulīśa standing on Apasmāra, Ardhanārīśvara, and Hari-hara exactly corresponding to those of No. 9 with *śikhara* of proto-type Kadamba *Nāgara* type. But the graceful forms and curves of the former become distinct in comparison with those of the latter.

Secondly Lakulīśa in the temples of the earlier type, is not shown as standing on Apasmāra.

The temples of this type are raised on the *adhishṭhāna* of partly *manchabandha* type (for *mukha* and *sabhāmaṇḍapas*) and partly *padmabandha* in which the high *kaṇṭhā* is replaced by fluted *vritta* (for sanctum part), or of *Padmabandha* entirely as in the temples at Paṭṭadakal.

Type VIII.—Temples of the Vimāna type: The temples with *śikhara* of *Nāgara* or *Vēsara Vimāna* type with space for circumambulation all round invariably consist of a *sāndhāra* sanctum, a heavily pillared *sabhāmaṇḍapa* with two shrines at the rear corners for Gaṇēśa and Mahishāsura-mardini and three *mukhamāṇḍapas* at the cordinal points.

In front there is also a *Nandi Maṇḍapa*. The Virūpāksha, the most extensive of all, has a *prākāra* with *parivāra dēvatā* shrines and two main gateways in front and the back.

The *śikhara* consists of *dvitāla Grīva*, *nāgara*, or *vēsara stūpi* and *kalaśa*. The *dvitāla śikhara* or the Sangamēśvara

at Paṭṭadakal has no *sukanāsi* and thus is similar to that of Nāganātha or Mallikārjuna (at *Hosa-Mahākūṭa*) temples. Correspondingly below there is no vestibule in it. The other two temples, i.e., Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna here have prominent *sukanāsi* and narrow vestibule. The top parapet, i.e., *hāra* on the roof, is distinctly relieved into *śālas* and *kūṭas*.

Excepting the *lalāṭabimba* of the lintel of the front eastern door of the Mallikārjuna that contains Viṣṇu seated on flying Garuḍa, all the other *lalāṭabimbās* have invariably Garuḍa holding the tails of serpents.

The lingas in the sanctum are invariably of the Type 3 (Plate II, *b* and Fig. E) fixed in the square pīṭhas.

The pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, the beams, the ceilings and the exteriors of the three temples are richly carved with narrative panels of episodes from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Pañchatantra and of the contemporary social life, Royal or donor couples in almost bold reliefs and gods, goddesses, male and female figures, scroll designs etc., in varied sizes, postures, moods in a subdued but effective style.

Among the miniature carving on pillars, a linga of the Type 3, with full blown lotus flower on the top (probably indicating *sahasradhara chakra*) on a moulded pīṭha, worshipped by Jaṭādhāri Rāma and Hanuman standing on the sides, carved on the sides, carved on the southern face of the second pillar from the sanctum of the longer row on the left in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the Mallikārjuna and again a linga of the same type on the bottom face of the eastern beam of the *antarāla* of the Kāśivīśveśvara (Plate I, *c*) similar to that of the lingas of the sanctum are particularly worthy of note, as they indicate a definite chronological point in the date range of linga of the Type 3 on the one hand and point out undoubtedly that the lingas of these and other temples are original, on the other,

The Sangamēśvara unlike the other two, has a few sculptures such as Andhakāśura, Gajāsuramardana, Ardhanārīśvara, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Bhūvarāha, respectively two each on the southern, western and northern walls.

On the exterior walls of the Virūpāksha temple out of about forty sculptures at least 23 are of Śiva in various forms. Similarly among the sculptures on the exterior walls of the Mallikārkjuna about 22 in number there is only one of Viṣṇu and the rest are of Śiva in different forms including Gajāsuramardana, Harihara, Naṭarāja and Lakulīṣa.

In all the temples of both the types, the linga is invariably of black granite, of Type 3. The two *Śaiva dvārapālas* shown on the pilasters guarding the entrances of the *mukha-maṇḍapas* and the sanctum or *sabhāmaṇḍapa* are almost invariably four-handed holding usually *Paraśu* and *Sarpa* in the upper hands and *Gada* in the lower. Nandi is completely shown in human form with horns shown behind the head. Thus they differ considerably from those of temples of the Types II and III that are two handed, holding a tall *triśūla* in one of the hands the other hand being *kaṭinyasta* shown in the front exterior walls outside the *mukhamāṇḍapa*.

The *adhishṭhāna* is invariably of *Padmabandha* type, i.e. consisting of *upāna*, *Padma*, *Vṛitta*, *Kūḍuvari* and *vyālavari*.

Chronology and Development

From the above study of the different types of particularly the structural temples, broadly two distinct phases of development, in view of their architectural forms and iconographic dispositions, range and characteristics, are evident, with an overlapping stage represented by Type V in between, that is actually experimental stage.

Early phase: Types I to V.

Late phase: Types VI to VIII.

Now, let us try to find out the sequence of the types in each phase taking into account epigraphical evidences also wherever available.

According to the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Mangalēśa dated 12th April 602 A.D. (*i.e.*, 5th regnal year *Siddhārthi samvatsara*) he made over the wealth he got in the military campaign against the Kalachuris, at the request of Durlabhadēvī the queen of Kīrtivarman I, to god "Makūṣvara". This statement evidently suggests the existence of the Mahākūṣvara temple prior to this date, *i.e.*, in the last part of 6th cent. A.D.

The inscription on the left side of the entrance of Mālegitti Śivalaya states that *Āryāminchi Bhaṭara* constructed the temple. Palaeographically it may approximately be assigned to circa 7th cent. A.D.

Also it is noteworthy that though Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, find place in the two main temples in Hosa Mahākūṭa, Mahiśāsuramardini and Gaṇēśa, Saptamātrika and Kārtikēya already found in the two Śaiva cave temples are conspicuous by their absence in them.

The Chalukyas in their inscriptions pay homage to Kārtikēya and Saptamātrikas and declare that they were nourished and protected by them. They were probably, therefore, responsible to some extent for the introduction of the deities at least from the time of Pulakēśin I, *i.e.*, early part of 6th cent. A.D.

The *Brahmasūtras* of the Types I, 1 and 2 and their variants are found in the lingas inside and near the apsidal temple at Hale Mahākūṭa in the Mahākūṣvara, Mallikārjuna in Hosa Mahākūṭa, Huchchimalli temple at Aihole and in the Śaiva cave temple at Badāmi. The Types I, 1 and 2 and their variants do not occur in any of the temples of the late phase. Type 3 is found in the lingas of the temples Sangamēśvara, datable to the first decade of 8th cent. A.D. Galaganātha and

Pāpanātha at Paṭṭadakal. It is obvious, therefore, the Types 1 and 2 must be earlier than the Type 3.

Temples: Their Chronology

The apsidal Śaiva temple at Hale Mahākūṭa in view of its simple plan, its bold *chaitya* motifs on the exterior walls, floriated designs carved on the capitals of the pillars quite distinct and not found in any of the temples (excepting one or two in Aihole) in the region, seems to precede the dilapidated Śiva temple in Hosa Mahākūṭa and to belong to middle or first half of the latter part of the 5th cent. A.D.

The dilapidated temple in the slopes of the hill at Hosa Mahākūṭa differs to some extent in *śikhara* form from those of the main temples there. Further the *śikhara* too shows earlier features slightly differing from the other temples in question. It differs from that of Sangamēśvara. Comparatively the *śikhara* of the Mallikārjuna appears to be in between those of the other two. Thus the dilapidated temple at Mahākūṭa (incidentally that of the upper Śivālaya) seems to be either contemporaneous with or slightly later than the apsidal temple.

The iconographic traits of the Nandi and of the type of *Brahmasūtra* of the linga of Mallikārjuna temple, of the sculptures of Śiva and of his dress and ornaments, the hairstyle of the ladies of the bas-reliefs in the *adhishṭhāna* of the two temples and particularly the absence of Mahishamardini and Kārtikēya at Mahākūṭa are indicative of a date earlier than the latter half of the 6th cent. A.D. In view of these features and epigraphical evidence the two temples especially the Mallikārjuna could reasonably be placed in the early part of the 6th cent. A.D.

In the Śaiva cave at Aihole, the anatomical features of the Saptamātrikās, the tall *kirīṭamakuṭas* and the mode of wearing the saree or dhoti with close folds indicated by the grooves are not usually found in any of the figures of the

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other temples in Aihole, Badāmi and Paṭṭadakal. These must be of early traditions soon to be replaced by the new types. The *yavana* type *dvārapālas* in the facade are also peculiar features, noticed only in this.

These and the presence of the 16-sided pillar in the front suggest a period in the last part of 6th century A.D. This seems to have been immediately followed by the Śaiva cave at Badāmi, with *linga* having the *Brahmasūtra* of Type 1 and sculptures in their characteristics near to the Vaishṇava cave of 578 A.D.

The Huchchimalli temple with the inscription of Vijayāditya on the wall, indicating its existence already and in view of its original flat roof type and of the *linga* with *Brahmasūtra* of type 1, a would seem to belong to the early part of 7th century A.D.

The flat roofed Nāganātha with its *adhishṭhāna* of early *Padmabandha* type and having two handed Gajānana, Kārtikēya and Mahishamardini on the right exterior wall, seems to have been constructed in the latter part 7th c. A.D. The *dvitāla vimāna* without *śukanāsi* must have been added in the early part of 8th cent. A.D. latest.

The Mālegitti Śivālaya is mostly similar to Mahākūṭeśvara, but is without closed *Pradakṣhiṇāpatha*. The giving up of closed *Pradakṣhiṇāpatha* a significant point seems to remove it in date considerably away from the latter. In view of this and of the *śikhara* similar to that of Mallikārjuna and of the palaeography of the inscription, the temple may be assigned to the last part of the 7th cent. A.D.

The *lingas* with *Brahmasūtra* of Types 1 and 3, mostly the former, found in the shrines with *śikhara* of the prototype of Kadamba Nāgara, at Mahākūṭa would suggest a date range of the last quarter of 6th and early 7th cent. A.D. The Mallikārjuna temple at Aihole of this type may be dated to the early part of 7th cent. A.D.

Coming to the temples of the late phase there are some inscriptions helping to date them.

The inscription palaeographically of circa 8th cent. A.D. on the right pilaster of the *mukhamandapa* of the Huchchappayya temple with considerable number of sculptures states that the architect Narasobba was second to none in the past or future in Jambūdvīpa in the science of architecture. Elsewhere in another inscription on a rock near the Jaina cave, he is described as the disciple of Śrī Bimjidi, expert in building *vimānas* etc. His claim as a matchless architect expressed in the inscription of the temple would be worthy if the temple with *śikhara* of *Rēkhā nāgāra*, was first of its kind to be built in this area. If there was any architectural distinction then in the temple that would certify the claim it should be in the *śikhara* type and certainly not in the plan or the other aspects also found in the other temples of earlier period. That this temple is the earliest of the type is also supported by the type of *linga* in the sanctum, *i.e.* of Type 1. In all the other temples of this type *lingas* of Type 3 are found. Although the inscription is palaeographically of 8th cent. A.D., the dating is approximate and it would not therefore be wrong if the temple is assigned to the middle part of 7th cent. A.D. Most probably the construction of Tārābasappa temple almost similar to the above but with *linga* of Type 3, followed rather immediately and may reasonably be assigned to early part of 8th cent. A.D. In Paṭṭadakal the originally flat-roofed *sāndhāra* temples Galaganātha and the sanctum of Pāpanātha in view of their sculptural dispositions, and the *linga* of type 3 may be placed in the last part of 7th cent. A.D. Similarly the Jambulinga and Kāḍasiddhēśvara and the shrines of this style in Mahākūṭa seem to belong to the early part of 8th cent. A.D. as they still retain partly the early tradition of having Lakuliśa, Harihara, Viṣṇu, the temple group at the latter having a little wider date range.

The Sangamēśvara, originally Vijayēśvara after the name of the ruling king Vijayāditya as per the inscriptions therein, is of the first decade of 8th cent. A.D.

The Virūpāksha and the Mallikārjuna originally, the Lokēśvara and the Trailokyēśvara respectively with the inscriptions of Vikramāditya II's two queens of the Haihaya family adherents of the Śaiva religion who got them built in memory of their husband's victory over the Pallavas of Kāñchi thrice, are too well-known. They belong to the latter part of the first half of 8th cent. A.D.

The two *maṇḍapas* and the *mukhamaṇḍapa* added to the sanctum of the Pāpanātha and the *śikhara* must have been constructed during the time of Vikramāditya II as it also has the donor couples almost in round relief in the pilasters of the walls of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* like that of Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna. Besides, there is a sculptured panel in the front face of the pilaster in the north-western corner on the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, depicting a seated king with his two queens on the right and seven men probably princes and feudatories seated at a lower level. The king with his two queens in all likelihood is Vikramāditya. Thus these parts of the temple are of the mid 8th cent. A.D. supported by the inscriptional evidence of the temple also.

Probably during this period *Rēkhā Nāgara śikharas*, a type that had become popular by then, were raised over the flat roofed temples such as Galaganātha, Huchchimalli and Durga.

The Kāśivīśveśvara is the last in the series as it is situated in the line where the *prākāra* of the Mallikārjuna temple of the queen Trailokya Mahādēvi, would have run. It shares the tradition of rich carvings found in the Mallikārjuna etc. It must therefore, have been constructed immediately after the fall of the Chalukyas, i.e., latter part of 8th cent. A.D.

After thus obtaining an approximate chronological range for these temples of various types in the light of architectural and iconographic characteristics and of a few inscriptions the probable lines of temple architectural developments could be discerned as follows:

(i) The apsidal type.

(ii) The *Vimāna* type.—The *śikhara* with one *tala* and horizontal mouldings crowned with *Nāgara* or *Drāviḍa stūpi* but without *śukanāsi* of the temples such as the dilapidated Śiva temple is the earliest *Vimāna* type in Karnataka, nay, in South India.

In the next stage, as found in the main temples at Mahākūṭa the *talas* in the *śikhara* become rather distinct and repetitive, i.e., *dvitala* crowned with a *Drāviḍa stūpi*. The topmost parapet of the walls in the two main temples are not well-defined with *śālas* and *kūṭas*. The *adhiṣṭhāna* consists of a sculptured recess; the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is widened. The two stages range from the last quarter of 5th to the end of 6th cent. A.D.

Inside the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* two sub-shrines for Gaṇeśa and Mahishāsūramardini, henceforth an invariable accompaniment to Śiva sanctum, and *mukhamaṇḍapas* on the sides of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* also, are added.

This developed type soon is elaborated by the addition of *prākāra* provided with shrines for *Parivāradēvatas* on the interior and imposing gateways. The temples are heavily ornamented with sculptures based on varied sources—religious and popular. There is *śukanāsi* on the frontal side of the *śikhara* with vestibule below between the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and sanctum, e.g., Virūpākṣa etc. Decorating the temples with sculptural panels pertaining to the Purāṇas, the Epics etc., may be owing to some extent of the political and cultural contacts of the Chalukyas with the Pallavas.

An important point, therefore, to be noted here, is that the *śikhara* of the *vimāna* type, appears to have originated in Badāmi-Mahākūṭa area.

(iii) The proto-type Kadamba *Nāgara* ranges from middle of 6th cent. A.D. upto the 7th cent. and seems to have been adapted in the Deccan resulting in the Kadamba *Nāgara* of later period.

(iv) *Rēkhā Nāgara prāsāda* temple began from about the middle part of 7th cent. A.D. and continued upto the end of 9th cent. In the Śaiva temples of this type the appearance of Gaṇeśa and Mahishāsūramardini either as loose sculptures or carved on the pilasters on the sides of the entrance to the sanctum is noteworthy.

(v) Temples with roofs flat at the centre and slopy on the sides of probably indigenous origin and beginning from about the middle of 5th cent. A.D. in Aihole area were subsequently added with *śikhara* of *Rēkhā Nāgara* of *Drāviḍa Vimāna* during 8th cent. A.D.; indicating the overlap of the two styles and an experimental stage in the development of temple architecture.

Religious implications

It is against these developments and chronology and in the light of the density of the characteristic temples, that the religious trends of the region and period, become apparent.

Mahākūṭa with its exclusively numerous Śaiva temples and a large number of Śiva lingas is evidently the centre of the Śaiva religion. The absence of Gaṇeśa, Mahishāsūramardini, Saptamātrika, Kārtikēya, and the presence of Lakūliśa and of the various forms of Śiva not connected with his exploits as found in the Purāṇas, seem to suggest the ascetic type of Śaivism, i.e., pāśupata Saiva rather than popular Puranic Śaivism. The story of Agastya, one of the Maharshis after obtaining instructions from Śiva coming to this area on his way to the south seems to have some relevance, in this regard. It seem to suggest the rising popularity of Purāṇic Śaivism.

Further, the Viṣṇu temple (*i.e.*, upper Śivālaya) and the occasional presence of Viṣṇu in the temples appears to indicate the rising popularity of Vaiṣṇavism also. During the rule of the Chalukya kings (of course, not all) the followers of Vaiṣṇavism, as their *lāñchana* and inscriptions indicate and who are at the same time described as being protected by Saptamātrikas and Kārtikēya, at least from the time of Maṅgalēśa onwards, Vaiṣṇavism did receive much impetus and support, resulting in the definite compromise between the two sects although Śaivism continued to be popular among the people apparent in the construction a large number of Śaiva temples. The ascetic nature of Śaivism was gradually liberalised giving place to popular Puranic Śaivism as evident from the representations of Śiva's exploits narrated in the Purāṇas. It was at this stage of accommodative spirit, the addition of Mahishāsuramardini and Gaṇeśa as part of the complex of Śaiva rituals was effected and the syncretism of religion—Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava are evident in the Virūpākṣha and Mallikārjuna at Paṭṭadakal, ultimately leading to the development of the form of *Trimūrti* in temple architecture as evident in the Jambulinga temple of Vijayaditya's time at Badāmi, was achieved.

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SCULPTURES AND PAINTINGS OF THE BADĀMI CHALUKYAS

M. S. NAGARAJA RAO

INTRODUCTORY

The sculptures and paintings of the Chalukyas of Badāmi are invariably associated with the Architecture of the period. It is well known that all the architectural remains of this period are concentrated in and around the Capital Badāmi. Thus while the cave temples are found only at Badāmi and Aihole, structural temples abound at Badāmi, Paṭṭadakal, Mahākūṭa, Aihole and Nāgarāl. Outside this group, structures of the period are found at Alampur in Mahabubnagar District, Satyavolu and Mahānandi in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh. Very recently a free standing *torana* with a sculptured lintel, ascribable to the late 7th cent. has come to light at Ittagi, in Raichur District

The architecture of the period has been grouped into two varieties, viz., caves and structural temples. Among the caves, it is generally agreed that *Rāvalphadi* and other smaller caves at Aihole are the earliest, and are ascribed to the middle of the 6th cent. A.D. Caves I and II at Badāmi follow the development, which is culminated in cave III, which was completed in A.D. 578. Structural temples, experimented upon at Aihole, attain their perfection in the 7th and 8th centuries at Aihole and Paṭṭadakal.

Sculptural Art

Whether it is a cave or a structural temple, sculptures form part and parcel of these. Red sand stone, the locally available material, was adopted for both the construction of temples and carving of sculptures.

The general type of carving was bas-relief. In caves, the relief sculptures were carved on the walls themselves. But in the structural temples, they were carved on blocks and set up in their respective places. A much effaced *dvārapāla*, found near the Meguti temple at Aihole, is the lone, surviving example of a sculpture in round.

Themes

The Sculptures of the period are mostly religious in nature. They represent Śiva in various forms, Viṣṇu and his several incarnations, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikēya, Brahma, Durgā, the Saptamātrikas, Aṣṭadīpālās, etc. Besides these, stories from Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and the Pañchatantra, also provided themes for the narrative reliefs. In the temples or caves dedicated to Jaina faith, tirthankaras, such as Supārśvanātha, Mahāvira, Bāhubali, etc., are carved. In addition to these, there are also secular themes, representing donor couples, *mīthunas*, birds and animals. We may also mention the interesting secular themes, such as a *gurukula* scene, showing the hut of the teacher, in the *aśrama*, a wife beating the husband, and a husband beating the wife and then feeling sorry and trying to appease the wife. These latter are found in Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa temples at Paṭṭadakal.

The main forms of Śiva represented are Natarāja, Vṛishabhavāhana, Tripurāntaka, Gangādhara, Harihara and Ardhanārīśvara. Of Viṣṇu, the common forms are Viṣṇu on Ananta, Trivikrama, Narasimha and Varāha. Durgā-mahishamardini is another, common theme.

While representing these gods, particularly in the Caves, the sculptor has presented the main deity in a massive form, while the subordinate gods and humans are depicted on a lesser scale.

There are several sculptures in which the stories from the *purāṇas*, particularly Bhāgavata, the epics and Pañcha-

tantra, are represented continuously in a narrative sequence. Caves II and III at Badāmi have bas reliefs of stories from Bhāgavata; depicted on the lintels above, in the verandah. The stories represented are: Churning of the ocean by *suras* and *asuras*, stories from the life of Krishna, *Pārijātāpa-haraṇa*, etc. Stories from Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Pañchatantra are, however, found only in the structural temples, at Paṭṭadakal, on the pillars in the interior of the Virūpāksha, and Mallikārjuna, and on the external wall of Pāpanātha. The stories from the epics and Pañchatantra represented are: Lakshmaṇa cutting the nose and ears of Sūrpaṇakhī, Mārīcha appearing as a golden deer, Rāvaṇa carrying off Sītā, Jaṭāyuvadhā, Sētubandha etc., (from Rāmāyaṇa); Bhīṣma-on *śaraśayya*, fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana, Gograhāṇa, Bhārata war and Kirātārjūṇiyam (from Mahābhārata); and the stories of monkey and the crocodile, and monkey and the wedge (from Pañchatantra).

From the available evidence, it becomes clear that Bhāgavata and other purāṇas provided the main themes for the sculptors of the earlier phase, represented in the caves, and stories from the epics were not common then. However, the epic themes become more popular, and were profusely used in the later phase of the sculptural art of the Chalukyas, as evidenced in the temples at Paṭṭadakal.

Characteristic features

The characteristic features of the Chalukya human sculptures are: rounded face with chubby cheeks, fish-like eyes, thick lips with a smile, broad chest and limited ornamentation. The best examples of these are found in caves of Badāmi. However, there are also sculptures, which possess features unlike these. The local sculptors seem to have attempted to incorporate the contemporary sculptural traditions and styles. Thus we notice a blend of the autochthonous style with other styles. Examples of such a blend-

ing of styles, can be noticed at Ladkhan, Kontigudi and Huchchimalligudi. A fine example of this is the Kārtikēya on peacock, depicted on the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* of Huchchimalligudi. Like the contemporary sculptures, in this example also, the depiction of the god is quite simple. Sparse ornamentation, smiling face, slim body exhibits divine qualities of the god. Perhaps the influence of the Gupta style is discernible in this.

Similar simplicity and natural expressions are found in the *mithuna* sculptures of Kontigudi, Ladkhan temple and the temple at Nāgarāl.

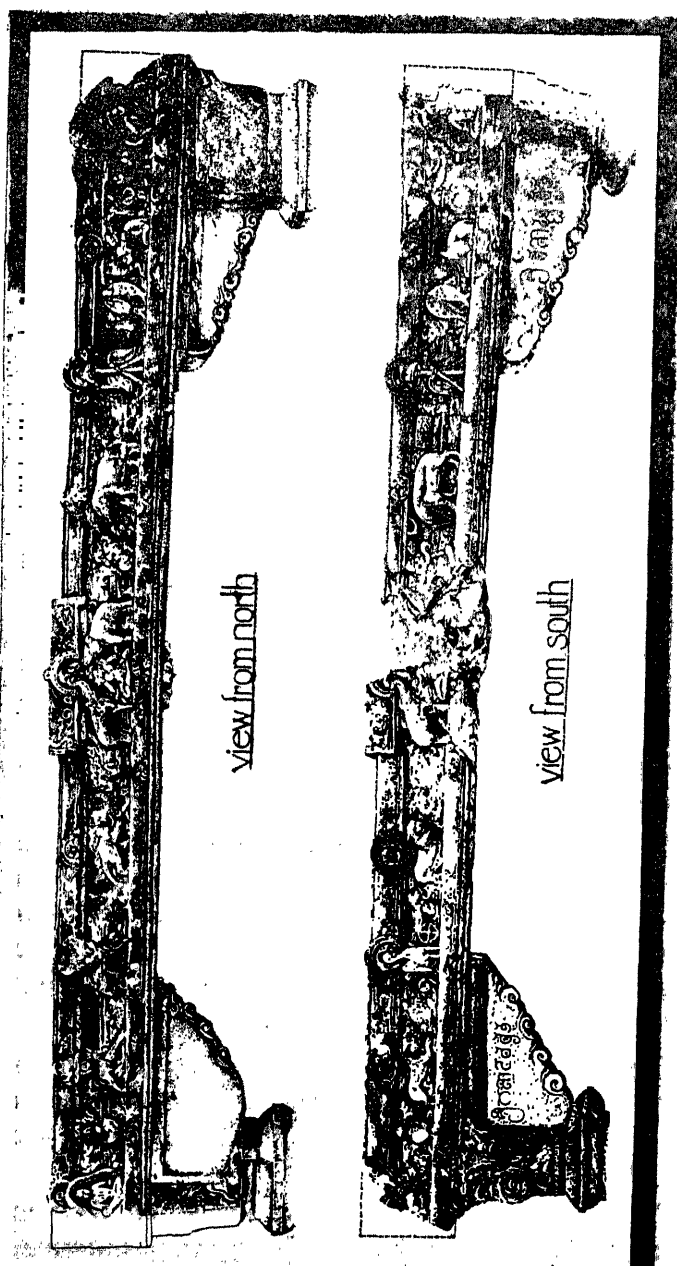
Sculptors

We are fortunate, in knowing the names of many of the sculptors who worked and some of the master pieces of Chalukya sculptures. From the inscriptions at Paṭṭadakal, we already know the names of the architects, such as *Sarvva Siddhi Āchāri*, *Guṇḍa Anivāritāchāri*, who was bestowed with the title of *Tribhuvanāchāri*, *Āditya*, son of *Śrīpādadeva*, *Rēvaḍi Ovajja*, disciple of *Sarvva Siddhi Āchāri*, etc. In addition to these, many of the sculptors have signed their names near or below the sculptures they carved, at Paṭṭadakal.

The sculpture of *Dvārapāla*, on the southern *ardhamanḍapa* of the Virūpāksha was the work of *Baladeva* son of *Śrī Duggi-āchāri*. *Śrī Duggi āchāriya magan Baladēvakrita* is the inscription. The same *Baladeva* also carved the *dvārapāla* image on the eastern *ardhamanḍapa* of Pāpanātha temple (*Sri Baladēva nirmmitarūpu*).

Chaṅgamma carved the standing image of Śiva on the eastern exterior wall of Virūpāksha. The *mithuna* couple inside the *nandimanḍapa* in the Pāpanātha was also the work of *Chaṅgamma*.

The inscription above the Śiva image, on the northern wall of Virūpāksha reads: *Śrī Pullappan niarmmaṇa deva (mmu) tṭida pratime*.



G. Details of Decorative Torana, Ittagi, Taluq Yalburga, District Raichur.

So *Pullapa* was the sculptor of this Śiva sculpture.

The sculpture of Naṭarāja, in the *ardhamanḍapa* of Pāpanātha is the work of the sculptor *Baladēva Ammayya*. *Sri Baladēva Amayyanirmmita*, is the inscription engraved, near the left shoulder of Śiva-Naṭarāja.

In the southern part of the same temple, is a mutilated image of Naṭarāja. On the windows, on either side of the image are two inscriptions, are in Nāgari, and the other in Kannada which read: .

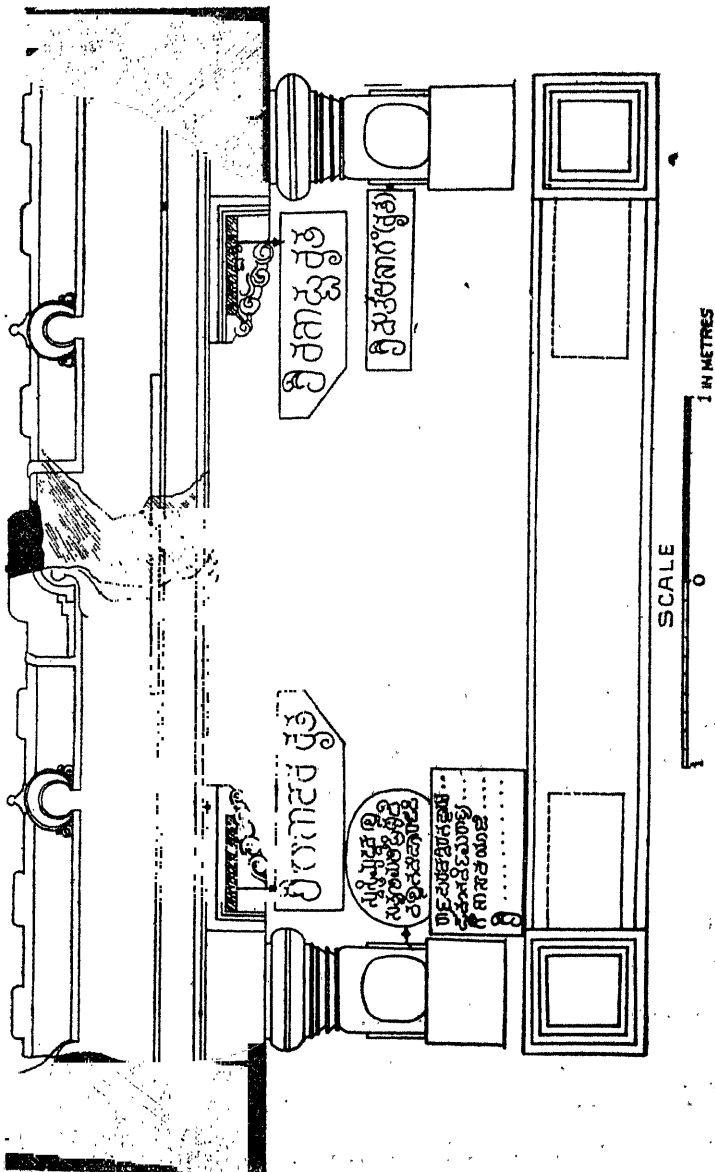
Deva Ārya (pa) nirmmita rūpū (in nāgari) and
.....*n Aryagadeva ārya nirmita rūpam* (in Kannada).

Another sculptor who worked in Virūpāksha was *Dāmōdaran*.

The *Tōraṇa* at Ittagi, mentioned in the beginning of this paper has two pillars, on which a sculptured lintel is placed. It is of red sand stone. On either side of the beam are sculptures flanked by two *Kuberas*, possibly *Śankhanidhi* and *Padmanidhi*. In between are the *mangala-chinhas*, such as *pūrṇakumbha*, *nandi*, *mīnadvaya*, *Chāmara dvaya* besides boar and lion. At the centre is the *Gajalakshmi*. On one face of the pillar is an inscription mentioning *Yuddhamalla Satyāśraya* (A.D. 681-696). It reads:

Svasti yuddhamalla
Satyāśraya Śrī prithivī
Vallabha mahārājādhi
rāja paramēśvara bhaṭṭāraka (prava)
rddhamāna vijayarājya.....
gaṇa Sōmayāji.....
Śrī.....

Therefore this structure can be dated to the end of the 7th cent. A.D. On the brackets of the lintel and on the face of the pillar names of three sculptors are engraved.



H. Positions of Inscriptions on the Sculptured Torana, Ittagi.

- 1 *Śrī gōṇadēva kṛita*
- 2 *Śrī Kaṇṇappa kṛita*
- 3 *Śrīmat Āṇagam kṛita.*

So the lintel was the work of these sculptors.

Some of the names of sculptors sound unfamiliar in Kannada. For example *Pullappan*. It is possible that some sculptors from the south also participated in the sculptural art as a result of the Pallava contacts.

The sculptors not only carved their names in many instances but they also labled some of the sculptures. Thus in Virūpāksha, Mallikārjuna and Pāpanātha temples. names are written below the images. For example: *Rāma* and *Angadi* below the wrestling images of Rāma and Angada; *Indra*, *Vajran* and *Ahale*, below the images of *Indra*, *Vajra* and *Ahalye*; *Rāman*, *Lakkaṇa*, *Suppaṇakhī*, *Kharadūshaṇan*, *Sugrīvan*, *Bāli*, *Aṇuma*, *Jambavan*, *Naḷan* and *Angaja* (Angada) etc., below the sculptures of these on the outer wall of Pāpanātha.

So much for the sculptural wealth of the Chalukyas. From a general study, it is evident that the sculptors were able to attain fine finish. They were able to attain equal quality and fineness whether it was a massive sculpture or a small relief. While the sculptures are noted for their simplicity and expression, the sculptor could, at the same time, exhibit vigour and movement. For these, we may quote the examples of the famous Naṭarāja in Cave I, and the massive sculptures of Śiva Tripurāntaka, Viṣṇu-Trivikrama and Narasimha. While he could treat such serious subjects as Trivikrama and Narasimha with ease, the Chalukya sculptor did not forget the human aspect. The best examples of these are the *gaṇas*, in various acrobatic postures in the lower panels of the caves at Badāmi.

Paintings

Examples of Early Chalukya paintings are now available only in Cave III at Badāmi. They are painted on the interior of the eave in the front portion of the cave. There are four panels.

The first panel depicts the interior of a palace. In the centre is seated a nobleman with one of his feet placed on a stool. He wears an *yajnōpavīta* and stringed pearls. He is attended by a number of attendants holding various insignia. At a distance, in the top, a balcony is depicted with a number of spectators. To his left is a company of musicians and dancers. A lady dancer is performing a dance number. Her complexion is blue-green. She has an attractive coiffure. She faces a flutist playing nearby. To her left is another dancer and a group of lady musicians.

The second panel is a similar scene. It is said to depict a court of a king, identified by some as Kirtivarman I. He is seated on a raised seat, with one leg raised and placed on the seat, and the other on a foot rest. His queen is also seated to his right. She is depicted as half reclining on a seat and pillow. She is painted in yellow ochre. Behind her stands a half clad damsel holding a fly-whisk. At her foot stands another maid awaiting orders. The king has around him a number of crowned princes.

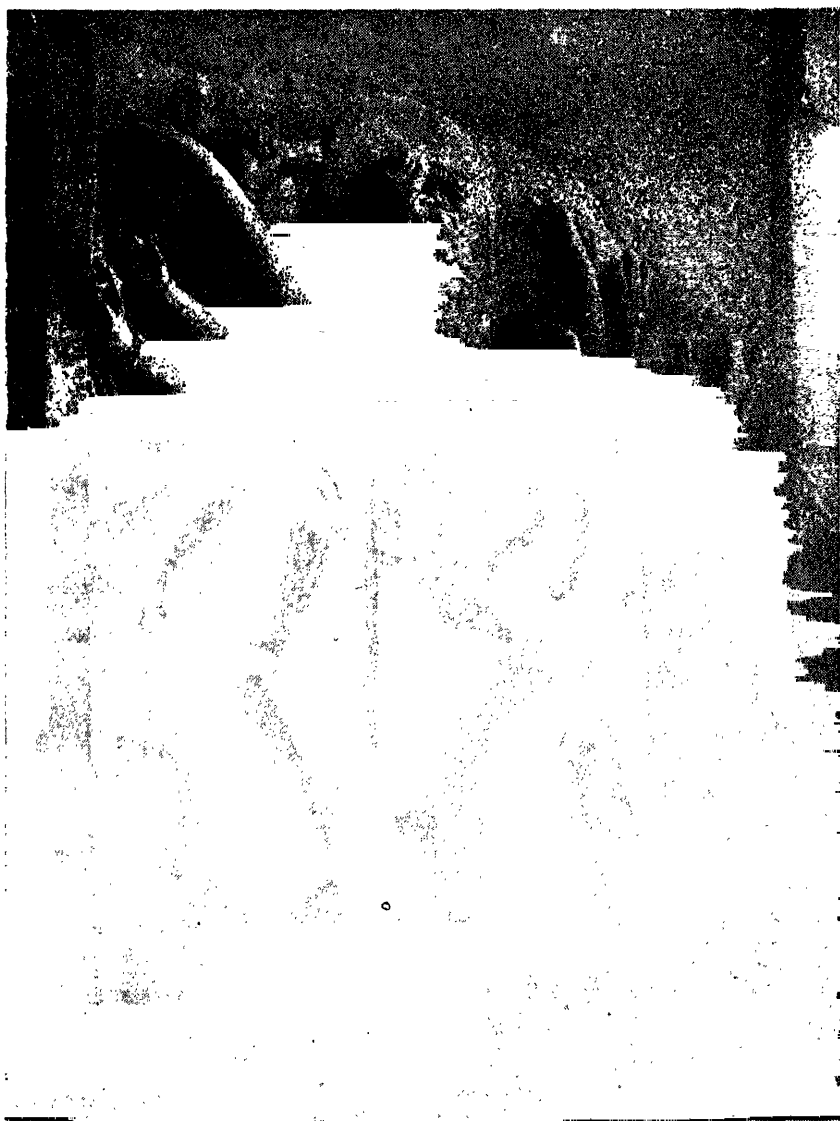
The other panels depict, two heavenly couples *Vidyā-dharas* flying in the sky. They are similar to the bas-reliefs found in the cave. The male *Vidyādhara* is depicted in pink while his partner in greenish-blue. The representation gives a feeling of their floating movement. In another instance, the male is shown playing a *Vīṇa*.

Originally, the entire cave appears to have been painted. The style of paintings is comparable to the Ajanta murals.

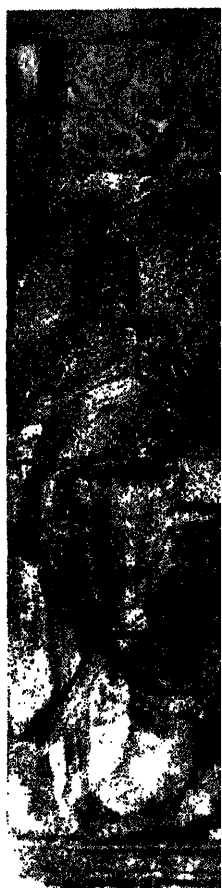
These murals are very important as they are the earliest among the wall paintings of Hindu temples in India.

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III. Siva—Nataraja, Cave I, Badami.



IV. Siva—Vrishabhavahana, Cave I, Badami.



V. Siva Tripurantaka, Pattadakal.



VI. Siva Kalarimurti, Pattadakal.



VII. Ardhanarishvara (on the rearwall), Sangameshvara Temple, Mahakuta.



VIII. Vishnu on Ananta, Cave III, Badami.



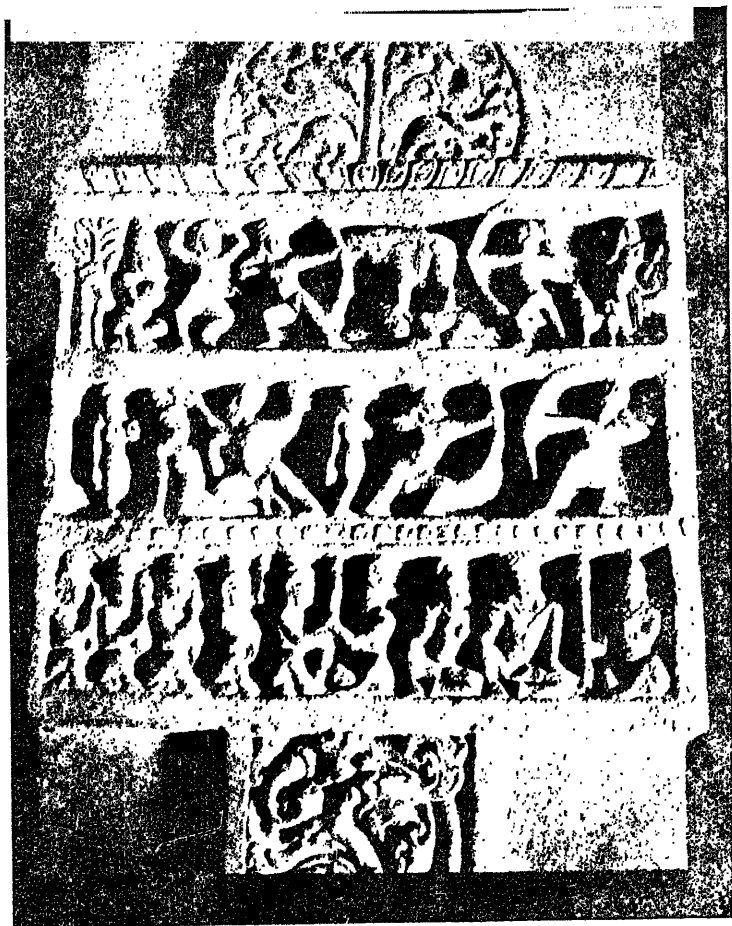
IX. Narasimha, Cave III, Badami.



X. Durga—Mahishamardini—Ravalphadi, Aihole.



XI. Kirāntarjunīyam, Papanatha Temple, Pattadakal.



XII. Kiratarjuniyam, on a pillar, Mallikarjuna Temple, Pattadakal:



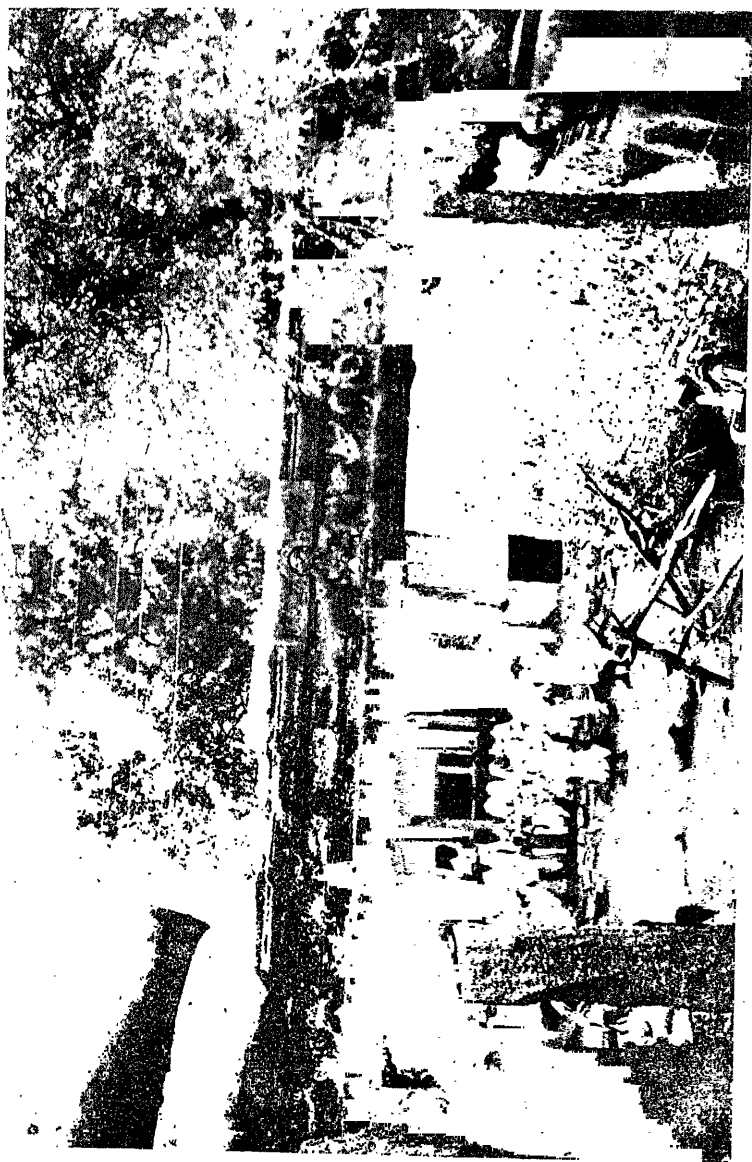
XIII. Flying Gandharva—fixed in a well—Hungund.



XIV. Mithuna Couple (Bracket figures), Cave III, Badami.



XV. Decorative Torana, Itagi, Dist. Raichur, view from south.



XVI. Decorative Torana, Jagi, Dist. Raichur, view from north.

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